

THE LEBANESE ARMED FORCES ENGAGING NAHR AL-BARED PALESTINIAN
REFUGEE CAMP USING THE INSTRUMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER

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by

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ABSTRACT

THE LEBANESE ARMED FORCES ENGAGING NAHR AL-BARED PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMP USING THE INSTRUMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER, by Major Jean Dagher, 110 pages.

This is a study of the Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian Camp battle, which occurred in 2007 in North Lebanon between the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) and Fath Al-Islam (FAI) terrorist organization. It begins with a summary of the Palestinians' history in Lebanon, the Palestinian refugee camps, Nahr Al-Bared camp (NBC) characteristics, and FAI terrorist organization. Then, the study analyses the use of the Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic instruments of national power (DIME) by the LAF in engagements during the NBC battle. During this extended operation, the LAF fought a fierce battle which formed a real test of its unity, military professionalism, and its ability to fight in one of the most difficult types of combat in unconventional warfare. The battle also puts the LAF as an institution, its leadership, combat units, and combat ability under the microscope of all audio-visual media that monitored the fighting minute by minute. This study describes the instruments of national power of the United States' doctrine and then analyzes their use by the LAF to manage the NBC battle. The study concludes that the application of the instruments of national power could improve the future defense of Lebanese sovereignty regarding Palestinian camps, counter-terrorism missions, and other operations.

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ACRONYMS

| | |
|-------|--|
| Aka | Also Known As |
| DIME | Diplomatic, Informational, Military, Economic |
| DoD | Department of Defense |
| FAI | Fath Al-Islam |
| ISF | Internal Security Forces |
| LAF | Lebanese Armed Forces |
| LRCS | League of Red Cross Societies |
| NBC | Nahr Al-Bared Camp |
| OE | Operational Environment |
| PLO | Palestinian Liberation Organization |
| PRC | Palestinian Refugee Camps |
| UNRWA | United Nations Refugee Relief and Works Agency |
| U.S. | The United States |
| UW | Unconventional Warfare |

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Lebanon is located in the Southeast of the Mediterranean basin; it has borders with Syria in the North and East and Palestine/Israel to the South. The capital is Beirut and its second major city is Tripoli. In 1943, Lebanon gained its independence from France. According to the unwritten “National Pact of 1943”, the Lebanese President is a Christian Maronite, the Prime Minister a Muslim Sunni, the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies a Muslim Shia, the LAF commander a Maronite Christian, and his Chief of Staff is a Druze (Shafie 2006, 1). The estimated population in July 2006 was 3,874,050. The Shia and the Sunni Muslims, the Maronites, and Roman Orthodox are the most powerful groups of 18 officially recognized religious sects. Muslims represent 59.7 percent of the population: Shia, Sunni, Druze, Alawite, Ismaili. Christians groups make up 39 percent: Maronite Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Melkite Catholic, Armenian Orthodox, Syrian Catholic, Armenian Catholic, Syrian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Chaldeans, Assyrians, Copts, and Protestants; while minorities make up 1.3 percent of the population. The Parliament consists of 128 deputies proportionally representing the various sectarian groups and individuals serve for a 4-year term, the government of 24 Ministers is also divided equally between Muslims and Christians (Shafie 2006, 1).

The situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, since the expulsion from their lands by the Israeli Forces in 1948 during the “Nakba,” or the Palestinian catastrophe, as Palestinians refer to it, is very complicated. In fact, since their arrival to Lebanon as refugees in 1948, Palestinians hold an ambiguous legal and political position. Their legal

refugee status was emphasized in the United Nations (UN) General Assembly Resolution 194 Clause 11 but has been continually restated up to present. This lack of a defined legal identity within the Lebanese legislative framework has led to their isolation from the Lebanese economic and social system and their continuing marginalization (Al-Natour 1997, 360-361).

Around 750,000 Palestinians were expelled to neighboring countries, with 110,000 fleeing to Lebanon and their integration into the Lebanese society was dependent on their religion and economic situation (R. Sayigh 1994). The middle and upper-class Palestinians settled in towns and cities (Peteet 2005, 6). Meanwhile, the mass of rural and poor refugees settled in one of the fifteen official camps, of which three, Tal Al-Zaatar, Jisser Al-Basha, and Al-Nabatieh, were destroyed during the Lebanese civil war between 1975 and 1990 and never reconstructed (Gambil 2003). The Sunni Palestinians represented 75 percent of the refugee population (Sfeir 2009, 106) and were considered a threat to the Maronite Christian community which enjoyed political and economic dominance at that time (Peteet 1991, 23). The establishment of the camps allowed the Lebanese Government and military to have better control on the refugees. All camps were intended to be established far from the southern Lebanese-Israeli border and distant from each other (Roberts 2010, 78). They were also built in rural and urban areas where they may provide cheap agricultural and industrial labor pool (R. Sayigh 1994, 24).

After the Six-Day War in June 1967, over 400,000 Palestinians fled to Lebanon as refugees and settled in the refugee camps in southern Lebanon, as well as in the cities of Tyre and Sidon. This influx of Palestinians led to a political conflict between the Lebanese Government and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) on the

governance of the camps and the sovereignty of Lebanon. In October 1969, relations between the PLO and Lebanese Government declined when the Palestinian freedom fighters clashed with the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) in South Lebanon. These events led Jamal Abdul Nasser, President of Egypt at that time, to attempt to mediate the conflicts between the LAF and the PLO forces resulting in the brokered Cairo agreement (Lightning Press 2016).

To mediate the dispute and solve this problem, Egyptian president Jamal Abdul Nasser, gathered the PLO's chairman, Yasser Arafat, and the Lebanese government representative, LAF commander General Emile Al-Bustani, and the parties signed the Cairo Accords (Issa 2014, 75). The accord gave the Palestinians virtual autonomy and the right to run their camps, and engage in armed struggle in coordination with the LAF (Lesch 1986, 47). Furthermore, Palestinians were allowed to train and carry arms within the refugee camps' borders (Brynen 1990). In 1975, Palestinians were drawn into the Lebanese civil war and had major influences in the causes and combat. The PLO continued to grow in power until the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 when the PLO forces were expelled (Issa 2014, 75).

In Lebanon, domestic legal discrimination against the refugees was instituted in the 1960s and refined after 1990, robbing Palestinians of basic civil rights. The camps were areas where poor Sunni Palestinians resided. They were prevented from rising economically due to discriminatory laws and racist attitudes the Lebanese government imposed to restrict them from working. It was not until 17 August 2010 that the Lebanese Parliament approved some modifications of the legal regime regulating foreigners' access to the labor market explicitly designed for Palestinians. This vote marked a significant

evolution in Lebanese-Palestinian coexistence (Bianchi 2014). The primary source legitimizing these restrictions was the threat of permanent settlement and naturalization of Palestinians in Lebanon, or “Tawteen” in Arabic, which gave the government the excuse to draw unjust laws toward Palestinians. The fact that Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are campaigning for civil rights, not naturalization, was ignored. To the refugees, the right of return is the key demand, because accepting “Naturalization” would erase the refugee problem and let Israel evade its historical responsibility for the refugee issue (Issa 2014, 76). Moujally (2012) argued the idea of “Tawteen” becomes a powerful discursive practice opposed to the Palestinians’ right to return to Palestine. It justifies any political action on the Palestinian refugees’ issue.

Brynen (2009) stated that the Palestinian refugee dispute in Lebanon is an open and infected wound. He also said that “if it is bandaged up without adequate treatment, it can only get worse, spread, and affect the whole body.” A historical and political context is needed to understand the ethnography of Palestinian life in Lebanon. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), established in 1950, operated in Lebanon and provided them education, health, social, and relief services (Sherifa 2006). It is formally in charge of the 12 refugee camps in Lebanon (Al Hussein 2010, 6). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) statistics for the first quarter of 2007 showed that the registered Palestinian refugees in Lebanon were estimated to be around 455,000, with 53 per cent living in the country’s 12 refugee camps recognized by UNHCR. All of which suffer from severe problems, including poverty, overcrowding, unemployment, poor housing conditions, and lack of infrastructure.



Figure 1. The 12 PRC Locations in Lebanon

Source: Sherifa Shafie, *Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon*. Forced migration, 2006, accessed 29 November 2016. <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/palestinian-refugees-in-lebanon/fmo018.pdf>, 4.

Nahr Al-Bared camp (NBC) is the second largest Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon after Ain Al-Hilweh. It was established in 1949 to accommodate Palestinian refugees struggling to cope with harsh winter conditions when they fled Palestine during the 1948 Israeli occupation. It is named after the Nahr Al-Bared river (in Arabic means the Cold River) that runs south of the camp. It is located in North Lebanon on the Mediterranean coast, about 10 miles northeast of Tripoli. NBC is home to nearly 31,023 Palestinian refugees and originally occupied an area of 198,129 square meters, rented from the private sector by the UNRWA. The population's rapid growth led to an extension of the camp onto additional land, approximately two square kilometers, from

the adjacent villages of Muhammara and Bhannine. The immediate vicinity of NBC includes three municipalities: Muhammara, Bhannine, and Bibnine. The official camp established in 1949 by the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS) is called the “Old Camp,” while the extended adjacent area is known as the “New Camp.”

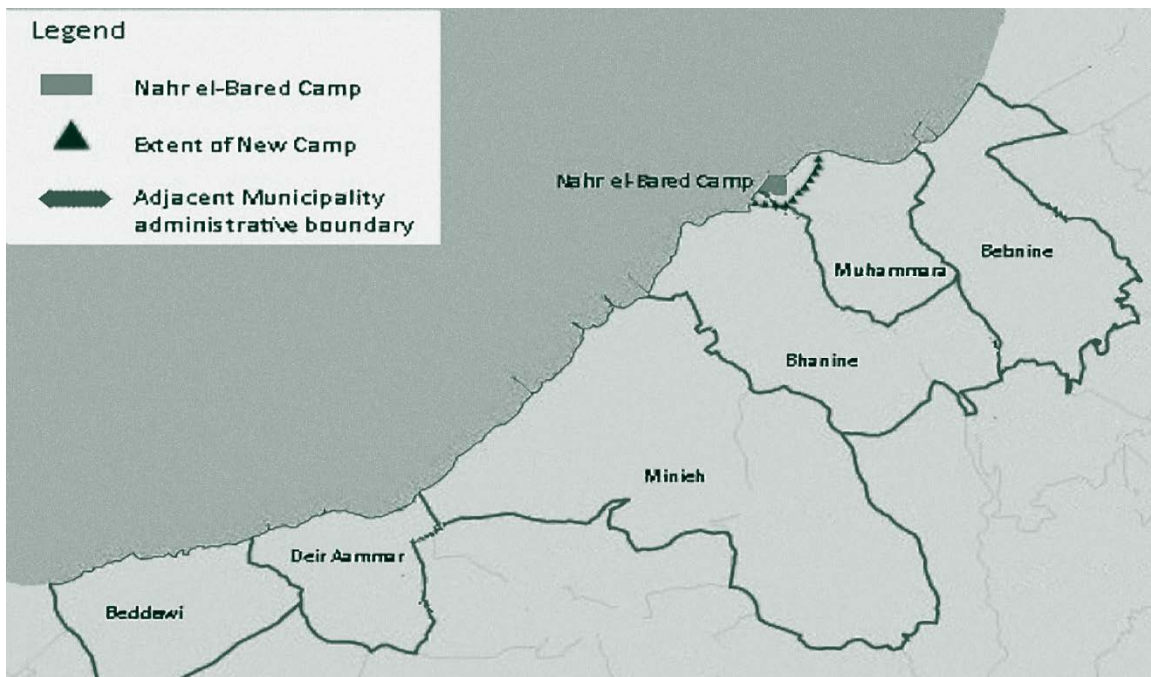


Figure 2. NBC and Adjacent Municipalities

Source: Government of Lebanon, A Common Challenge, A Shared Responsibility, The International Donor Conference for the Recovery and Reconstruction of the Nahr el-Bared Palestinian Refugee Camp and Conflict-Affected Areas of North Lebanon (Beirut: The Lebanese-Palestinian Dialogue Committee, 2008), 10, accessed 27 November 2016, <http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf>.

NBC has two entrances. The main is on the northern side of the Abdeh roundabout. The secondary is located in the south of the camp where there is a two-way

bridge crossing over the Cold River. The camp has one main road of four lanes, two for each way, which goes from Northwest to Southeast at a 45-degree angle and connects the two entrances of the camp. Narrow corridors and randomly constructed, close spaced buildings above underground tunnels of reinforced concrete characterized the Old Camp. Those underground tunnels, more than 12 feet in depth, were initially designed to protect from Israeli air strikes. The number of buildings is estimated to be five hundred. In the middle of the camp, there are no roads, only pedestrian footpaths. In contrast, the New Camp is about 0.5 square kilometers with wide roads and buildings up to five stories.



Figure 3. NBC Main Road

Source: Hugh Macleod, “Local people against the rebuilding of Palestinian refugee camp,” *IRIN News*, 2007, accessed 14 January 2017, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/74204/lebanon-local-people-against-rebuilding-palestinian-refugee-camp>.

In January 2006, the Lebanese authorities were increasingly aware of the terrorist threat and made several arrests. Thirteen suspected Al-Qaeda-linked militants were detained on suspicion of planning suicide attacks in Lebanon. The group consisted of seven Syrians, three Lebanese, one Saudi, one Jordanian, and one Palestinian (Cochran 2006). Later the same month, Lebanese security forces arrested five people involved in attacks against military positions. Also, a boat loaded with weapons was detected off the coast of Tripoli, allegedly en route to Gaza, signaling an emerging military build-up within the jihadi groups. In January 2006, a Palestinian jihadi group calling themselves “Black Tigers al-Qaeda Military Wing in Lebanon” issued an internet statement threatening to attack United Nations (UN) officials, Palestinian leaders, and Lebanese security forces. In February 2006, the independent Lebanese daily newspaper Sada Al-Balad, received a threat from an alleged Al-Qaeda operative, followed by an explosion targeting military positions in Beirut only hours later. Fath Al-Islam (FAI) claimed this attack as retaliation for the January arrests (Hunt 2006).

The FAI terrorist group’s growing threat in NBC first appeared after an armed clash in Beddawi Palestinian Camp in North Lebanon, 6 miles south of NBC. Then, FAI officially announced its establishment on 26 November 2006. It seized control of Fatah Al-Intifada’s bases in NBC, raised black banners with the inscription “Tawhid” (literally “God’s unity”) over the camp, and issued fliers stating that they were “bringing religion to the Palestinian cause (Gade 2007). This FAI terrorist threat led the LAF to take a series of measures, including enforcement of checkpoints around the entrances of the camp to deal with the security concerns.

On the night of 19 May 2007, a BankMed (Mediterranean Bank) branch in Amioun, North Lebanon was robbed with an estimated loss of \$125,000. By dawn, the Lebanese Internal Security Forces (ISF) attacked suspects in their apartment in Mitein, Tripoli. The suspects turned out to be FAI militants (Illustration 3). The raid developed into a long day of violence in the city (Now Lebanon 2007). The next day, around 3:00 AM, FAI simultaneously attacked the three LAF checkpoints around the NBC and slaughtered 32 LAF soldiers while they were sleeping. The hostile attack led to 105 days of ferocious battle between the FAI terrorist organization and LAF. The battle ended with the fall of NBC on 2 September 2007, the escape of some FAI militants, and prevention of FAI from building their dream of an Islamic State, “Caliphate,” in North Lebanon (Abdel Kader 2015, 1). The NBC battle is considered the fiercest battle fought by the LAF since its foundation. It formed a real test of the LAF’s unity, military professionalism, and its ability to fight, with limited resources, in a battle that is one of the most difficult types of combat in Unconventional Warfare (UW). The battle combined fighting insurgents entrenched in buildings with fortifications, tunnels, and various shelters with many floors. Also, the LAF fought a UW against a terrorist organization with seemingly endless amounts of rockets, guns, explosive devices, and a distinct experience in booby-trapping everywhere and everything (Abdel Kader 2015, 73).

The LAF united the Lebanese population and politicians on the need for a victory in the battle. Whatever the cost was in martyrs and injured, it was for the sake of terminating the conflict, the elimination of terrorism, and the achievement of Lebanese sovereignty over all its territory. The LAF demonstrated its unity and cohesion, was not

influenced by all attempts to excite religious or sectarian divisions and surpassed all efforts to initiate a split in its ranks. When the battle ended, Lebanese citizens celebrated outside NBC and waved, along with soldiers, Lebanese flags and V-signs celebrating their national victory. This fight put the institution of the LAF, its leadership, combat units, and combat ability, under the microscope of all media and social media means that monitored the battle minute by minute. This coverage was not limited to local or Arab media but included international press with satellite television, radio stations, and global newspapers, which were all monitoring the course of the battle in details. The combat attracted the attention of Arab military and security institutions and received several comments from global military strategists on the performance of the LAF (Abdel Kader 2015, 74).

The thesis concerns the LAF's use of the instruments of national power while engaged in the NBC battle. It centers on the application of diplomatic, informational, military, and economic strategies by the LAF that impacted the fight. The intention of this thesis is to apply this terminology and principles used by the U.S. government to the LAF in managing the NBC battle. This thesis argues that the holistic application of the DIME concept could be a necessary framework to improve the LAF's efficiency in future Palestinian camp battles, anti-terrorism, and other operations. Thus, it is important to understand that DIME is not part of the LAF's doctrine. These instruments are interrelated in nature and directly influence the LAF's performance. The research will address the situation of the Palestinian refugees and refugee camps (PRC) in Lebanon, the NBC, the rise of the FAI terrorist organization, and the use of the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic instruments of national power by the LAF during

the 2007 NBC battle. The focus on the LAF's ability to fight in another camp centers on the efficient implementation of the DIME in a Palestinian camp battle.

The primary research question is:

How did the LAF use the instruments of national power to engage Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian camp?

The secondary research questions are:

1. What are the diplomatic measures that the LAF has taken to reinforce its position before the FAI terrorist organization in NBC?
2. What are the informational activities that have helped the LAF to understand better the informational aspect in the NBC?
3. What are the LAF's military capabilities necessary for an adequate projection of Lebanese military power on the NBC?
4. What are the economic measures that the LAF took in reducing FAI's ability to survive longer inside NBC?

Assumptions

The LAF is always under constant challenges and is subjected to criticism during the history of Lebanon. However, one underlying assumption is that the LAF is still the most powerful organization in Lebanon and is capable of performing the same mission and same functions. Another assumption is that the politicians will remain aware of the LAF's importance in maintaining Lebanese sovereignty over the Palestinian camps. Another assumption is that the economic situation in the Lebanese government will not affect the funding of the LAF, and the ability to acquire ammunitions and weapons needed to fight the battle. An assumption regarding the camps in Lebanon is that they

will continue to exist for the near future and that these camps will continue to harbor terrorism.

Significance of Study

This research is significant about allowing the LAF's leaders to consider the LAF's practices for the instruments of national power to improve performance in future battles. Ultimately, it is imperative for military professionals, especially those seeking to remain relevant in the operational environment (OE) of the Palestinian camps in the Middle East and Lebanon in particular. Moreover, the importance of the study comes from the critical situation due to the presence of many terrorist organizations and their jihadist beliefs and dreams in building an Islamic state in Lebanon.

Limitations

The main limitation is the inability to obtain primary source documents for the research. Another limitation of this work is time, which restricts the interpretation of the findings from the study, the investigation of the research problem, and the analysis of all of the facts and information regarding the LAF's use of DIME in the engagement of NBC. Also, distance and funds restrict access to primary source documents related to the project. Another limitation is the availability and access to information and the contradictions and gaps in important figures and statistics on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon even within the UNRWA data. Furthermore, the author's biases due to previous experience with the model (fought in the NBC battle) may affect the information's interpretation and analysis.

Delimitations

This study will access the LAF'S use of the instruments of national power to engage NBC. The thesis is limited to the identification of the instruments of national power and the examination of their effectiveness by the LAF in fighting the NBC battle in 2007. This research avoids retelling the operational events of the fight itself, which will allow for an increased focus on the study of the instruments of national power applied. Thus, it will provide an overview context of the battle regarding DIME.

Definition of Terms

The key terms defined as part of this research are defined below. It shows the way these expressions were used within the framework of this thesis.

Caliphate: "The political-religious state comprising the Muslims' community and the lands and peoples under its dominion following the death (632 CE) of the Prophet Muhammad. Rules by a Caliph (Arabic Khalifah, "successor"), who held temporal and sometimes a degree of spiritual authority" (Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica 2016).

Fath Al-Islam (FAI): "Founded by Palestinian-Jordanian Shaker Al-Absi, FAI can be best described as a Salafi multinational group, inspired by Al-Qaeda and its militant interpretation of Jihad and aspiration to establish Islamic rule. Based on the numbers of arrested and killed FAI militants during the NBC war, the Lebanese Judiciary Council stated that the group was predominantly Lebanese, then Palestinian, and comprised over ten nationalities" (Rougier 2008).

Instruments of national power (DIME): "Governments employ the instruments of national power to achieve national strategic objectives. The instruments of national power are diplomatic, informational, military, and economic (DIME). The government's ability

to advance its national interests is dependent on the efficient use of the DIME” (Joint Chief of Staff 2013).

Jihad: The word “Jihad” in Arabic means “struggling” or “striving.” In a divine intellect, in the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, “jihad” refers to the efforts to be a good Muslim or a believer, as well as working to inform people about the faith of Islam. Military jihad, a rare meaning of “jihad,” is required to protect the Islamic religion against others, using legal, diplomatic, economic, and political means.

Individuals cannot declare “jihad.” The religious authority of the military campaign, advised by scholars, declares “jihad” when the religion and people are under threat and violence to defend them (Islamic Supreme Council of America 2017).

National power: “National power is constituted by a number of distinct levels: physical resources and attributes (latent power); the effectiveness of national institutions in mobilizing, sustaining, and applying the instruments of power (applied power); and the structural context (facilitators or constraints on the application of power derived from the international environment). The ultimate measure of effective national power should be outcomes or performance” (Jablonsky 2006, 127).

Palestinian Refugee Camp (PRC): “A Palestine refugee camp is defined as a plot of land placed at the disposal of UNRWA by the host government to accommodate Palestine refugees and set up facilities to cater to their needs. Areas not designated as such are not recognized as camps.” The plots of land on which the known camps were set up are either state land or, in most cases, land leased from local landowners by the host government. The refugees in the camps do not own the land on which their shelters were built, but have the right to use the ground for a residence (UNRWA 2016).

Sovereignty: “The basic international legal status of a state that is not subject, within its territorial jurisdiction, to the governmental, executive, legislative, or judicial jurisdiction of a foreign state or foreign law other than public international law” (Steinberger 1987, 414).

Terrorism: “Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or a group of persons or particular persons. Also, to intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act. These acts are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature” (United Nations 2004).

Unconventional Warfare (UW): “Operations conducted by, with, or through irregular forces in support of a resistance movement, an insurgency, or conventional military operations” (Headquarters, Department of the Army 2008, 1-2).

UNRWA: The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees is funded almost entirely by voluntary contributions from the United Nations (UN) member states. UNRWA also receives funding from the UN regular budget, mostly used for general staffing expenses. “The Agency’s services encompass education, health care, relief and social services, camp infrastructure and improvement, microfinance and emergency assistance, including in times of armed conflict” (UNRWA 2014).

Summary

The battle of NBC was one obvious turning point in Lebanese history. This victory was achieved at considerable expense by the LAF. With these enormous

sacrifices, major gains were attained at the national and military level. The LAF engagement in the battle can be analyzed using the instruments of national power; this analysis could determine the efficiency of the LAF and will shape the course of national defense strategies for the current and future challenges. Answering the primary and secondary questions, the researcher organized the thesis as follows. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the problem, focuses on the history of Palestinians camps in Lebanon starting since their arrival after the “Nakba”; describes the NBC characteristics, the FAI terrorist organization, and the NBC battle between LAF and FAI; and defines the concept of the instruments of the national power. Chapter 2 provides a summary and assessment of the sources employed throughout the study. These sources are organized following the above-listed subtopics’ structure. Chapter 3 explains the methodology that was used in the research study. Chapter 4 analyzes the information provided by the different sources, interprets it through each instrument of national power to help the reader understand the problem, and identifies possible solutions. Finally, Chapter 5 presents findings and conclusions based on the analysis, answering the primary and secondary questions, and suggests recommendations for the LAF for further study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Most of the literature concerning the thesis topic is concentrated in 2007 when the NBC battle occurred. This period saw a rapid increase of terrorist organizations in Lebanon and in Palestinian camps, which put the Lebanese government and the LAF under immense pressure. From here comes the importance of studying the instruments of national power in the NBC engagement. The thesis reviews the literature involved with the research questions. The primary research question is: How did the LAF use the instruments of national power to engage Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian camp? It will provide some emphasis on how the strategy may be changed in the future, and then the LAF might move forward based on the results of this study. The current gap in the literature is the lack of assessments following the rise of the FAI and the NBC battle in 2007 using the instruments of national power. The review of the literature available on this topic fills the gap in the research and provides a better understanding of this procedure.

This chapter gives an overview and history of Palestinian refugees and Palestinian refugee camps (PRC) in Lebanon, examines the NBC and its geography, describes the FAI terrorist organization and its rise in the camp. Also, the chapter reviews the instruments of national power (DIME) applied by the LAF to engage the NBC battle and describes how the LAF employed each instrument in the fight. The sources used for this research consist of books, articles, newspapers, and internet websites that provide the essential background information related to the topic. The data collection method used for evaluation in this thesis is document review. This approach will be applied by using

existing records or data. The information was originally collected for purposes other than the program evaluation or documentation but was useful for the evaluation. An example is previous similar studies used to compare the current study with these scholars' research (Harvard Graduate School of Education 2004).

The most relevant and first-hand resources for this camp engagement are the U.S. Joint Publication 1-0 "Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States" and the U.S. "Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy." Also, the Lebanese constitution, the Lebanese Army's magazine, the Daily Star magazine, and the UNRWA statistics and reports were of great significance. The most important source was Nizar Abdel Kader's book "Maarakit Nahr Al-Bared Wa Intisar Al-Watan - The Battle of Nahr Al-Bared and the Win of the Nation, Spring-Summer 2007" published in 2015 by the LAF which analyzed the NBC battle and its OE intensely.

Regarding the NBC and the FAI, it is evident that there is an extensive amount of open sources available. However, many of these sources offer opposing arguments on the origins, causes, numbers, ideologies, and intent of the FAI. The literature review includes sources from the U.S. joint doctrine publications, U.S. Army War College publications, and related American books and articles that were beneficial in explaining the instruments of national power. The sources below are organized in a thematic review of literature according to the thesis subtopics and chronologically by the progression of time inside of each subtopic (Writing Center 2010-2012). These subtopics were considered most relevant and related to the analysis of NBC battle, and mainly to understand the LAF application of the instruments of national power. An accurate analysis of the current

study and the literature review establish a common understanding of the subtopics and consequently, an understanding of the application of DIME to the NBC by LAF.

Palestinian Refugees and Refugee Camps

In 1948, when the Palestinian “Nakba,” or the catastrophe, as Palestinians commonly refer to, 750,000 Palestinian were expelled by the Israeli Army into the neighboring Arab countries; of Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Over 110,000 started moving to Lebanon (R. Sayigh 1994, 17). Also, during the Six-Day War of June 1967, Israel occupied more territory causing an additional flight of refugees (Moujally 2012, 23). Their integration into Lebanese society was dependent on their sect and class. Middle and upper-class Palestinians settled into towns and cities. However, the mass of rural and poor city refugees had no choice but to stay in one of the official camps and some rural agglomerations. The Sunni Palestinians, representing 75 percent of the refugee population, were seen from the start as a threat to the politically and economically dominant Maronite Christian community (Peteet 2005).

The establishment of camps allowed the Lebanese state and its armed forces to control the refugees more easily. Camps were established far from the Lebanese-Israeli border and far from each other (Roberts 2010, 78). They were also set up in both rural and urban areas to provide a low-priced agricultural and industrial labor pool. Additionally, Lebanese laws placed severe constraints on the refugee population. Palestinians who were not able to obtain Lebanese citizenship were treated as foreigners who were obliged to apply for work permits. Unable to get those, they were confined to work mainly in agriculture and construction (R. Sayigh 1994, 24). The UNRWA statistics reflected a registered number close to 455,000, where only 214,736 reside in the 12

recognized camps across the country, with 52.8 percent of the overall number of registered refugees in Lebanon (UNRWA 2007). According to Encyclopedia Britannica (2016), the PLO was formed in 1964 to centralize the leadership of different Palestinian group's that had operated as a resistance movement to the Israeli forces. Beirut was the center of activity for the PLO, which was a robust and powerful actor in Lebanon, for a long time (Y. Sayigh 1999). According to Shehadi (2010), the PLO, and especially the Fateh movement of Yasser Arafat, functioned in Lebanon as of any other Lebanese political party. The PLO was also an important economic actor from which both the Lebanese and Palestinians benefited.

By 1969, the expanding Palestinian national movement, backed by Lebanese leftist and nationalist forces that would later form the Lebanese National Movement, began to clash with the LAF in demonstrations around Lebanon (Traboulsi 2007, 152-155). On 28 August 1969, an unplanned revolt for the liberation of the camps from the much hated “Deuxième Bureau” or Army intelligence department was launched. The camps’ liberation in Lebanon ushered the “Thawra” era, or the “Revolt,” when Palestinians felt they had regained their self-respect, pride, dignity, and control of their destiny (R. Sayigh 2007, 169-170). This mass uprising of Palestinians led to the signing of the Cairo Accords in 1969, which granted Palestinians the right to manage their camps and to engage in armed struggle in coordination with the LAF (Peteet 2005). Palestinian camps were after that administered by the combination of a popular committee that acted like a municipality dealing with services such as electricity, water, and garbage collection, and the armed command, which served as a local police force (Peteet 1987, 32-33). They quickly started to engage in infrastructure improvements, established

health, social and cultural institutions in the camps, recruiting programs, and military training (R. Sayigh 1994, 95-96).

The confrontation between the Syrian regime and the PLO remained a constant reality throughout the Lebanese civil war. The clashing political goals of the two sides placed them in a permanent state of conflict, resulting in the bloodiest clash called the Camps War (1985-1987). Syria made sure to eliminate any possibility of the PLO's resurgence in Lebanon (Moujally 2012, 39). In 1987, President Amin Gemayel abrogated the Cairo Accord; since then it was not replaced by another agreement for the management of the camps or coordination between the Lebanese state and the Palestinians. Instead, the Lebanese state seemed to prefer to operate according to an informal arrangement whereby internal policing was left to the Palestinians themselves. When problems arose and needed Lebanese intervention, Lebanese authorities could either coordinate with camp officials, rely on Palestinian factions to hand over wanted individuals, or only blame the Palestinians for bringing insecurity to Lebanon. After that, the camps were internally governed by a web of complex power structures composed of the PLO popular committee, committees formed by dissident political parties, notables, factions, Islamist non-Palestinian groups, imams, PLO organizations, and UNRWA directors (Moujally 2012, 75).

The post-civil war era brought an even sharper increase in the insecurity and marginalization of Palestinian refugees where they were evicted from squatter areas. They also suffered from a reduction in UNRWA's services, which faced a chronic budget deficit since the mid-1970s (Al Hussein 2010, 18). Additionally, in 1994, after the Oslo Accords were signed between the PLO, Israel, and the Palestinian National Authority

(PNA), the PLO was severely marginalized with both the Palestinian leadership and the international community shifting funding and focus from the PLO to the PNA (Moujally 2012, 76). In 2001, Prime Minister Rafik Al-Hariri prevented Palestinians from owning property and excluded them from the labor market. Portrayed by the Lebanese as the instigators of the civil war, their meager rights were reduced even further. He used their definition in law as foreigners and applied the principle of reciprocity to the decrees that pertained to them (Al-Natour 1997, 360). This policy operated on the logic that the treatment of a foreigner (e.g. Palestinian) in Lebanon was determined by the treatment of Lebanese nationals in the immigrant's country of origin (e.g. Palestine). Considering that there was no Palestinian state, which could treat Lebanese in any given way, this was a convenient and efficient legal rule that lawmakers used.

In October 2005, the Lebanese-Palestinian Dialogue Committee (LPDC) was established, and the PLO reopened its office in Beirut. The Lebanese government made the necessary steps to support improvements in the conditions of the Palestine refugee population. However, the refugees did not have access to Lebanese public health, education, and social services. Therefore, they continued to rely deeply on the UNRWA services and had higher expectations compared with Palestine refugees in other fields of operation (UNRWA 2008, 16). The Lebanese society stigmatized Palestinians as having caused the civil war; the fact served as a convenient scapegoat for any ill in Lebanon (Peteet 2005, 174). This point was especially visible during the 2007 NBC conflict as it was the only moment when unity in the Lebanese political spectrum was exhibited overcoming an extended period of internal and sometimes deadly divisions (Moujally 2012, 78). The relevant statistics and figures of the Palestinian refugee community in

Lebanon have some contradictions and gaps. The numbers depend on the different political and aid agendas even within the UNRWA data. According to Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency & Refugee Rights, the available figures of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon range around 216,597 (Badil Resource Center 2007, 52).

Meanwhile, the UNRWA statistics as of January 2007 reflected a registered number close to 455,000, where only 214,736 reside in the 12 recognized camps across the country, with 52.8 percent of the total registered Palestinian refugee's number in Lebanon (UNRWA 2007).

The biggest camp in both size and population is Ain Al-Hilweh, established in the aftermath of the Arab-Israeli war in 1948 by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to house Palestinians who fled the fighting. It is called the “Capital of the Palestinian Diaspora” (Gambil 2003) with a land area of 1.25 square kilometers enclosed on all sides by LAF checkpoints, and a population of more than 120,000 (Abou Toameh 2016). After it had become evident that there was no future political solution to the refugee crisis, UNRWA began functioning in the camp in 1952 and progressively replaced its canvas tents with concrete shelters (Gambil 2003). The second biggest camp is NBC, the most northerly of the Palestine refugee camps in Lebanon; it is located on the Mediterranean coast, 10 miles North of Tripoli. The camp was originally built in 1949 by the LRCS as a tented site, on land that was allocated for refugees who had fled Palestine during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war (UNRWA 2008, 17). Other camps are Wavel, Shatila, Rashidieh, Mieh Mieh, Mar Elias, El-Buss, Dbayeh, Burj Shemali, Beddawi, and Burj Al-Barajneh camp. Three other camps: Tal Al-Zaatar and Jisser Al-Basha in Beirut, and Al-Nabatiya in South Lebanon (see Appendix A Table 1) were destroyed between 1975

and 1990 during the Lebanese civil war. The Lebanese authorities have denied permitting the reconstruction of these three camps, the construction of new camps, or the expansion of existing camps (Gambil 2003). Roberts argued that the Palestinian refugee community in Lebanon is certainly “the most underprivileged refugee group in Arab host states,” and emphasized this fact by the proportion of cases registered in UNRWA’s Special Hardship Program, which appeared in Lebanon to be the biggest (Roberts 2010).

Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian Camp

To understand the military challenges posed by the NBC battle in 2007, it is necessary to first describe and analyze the conditions around the camp. NBC was named after the Nahr Al-Bared river (in Arabic means the Cold River) that runs south of the camp. It was established in 1949 by the LRCS as an emergency shelter to relocate Palestinian refugees from the biting Beqaa valley. The NBC then grew into the home to some 31,000 refugees and a dynamic economic center in North Lebanon before its destruction in 2007. It originally occupied an area of 0.2 square kilometers. The populace growth of the NBC refugee community caused a natural extension of the camp onto additional land. As a result, NBC became the second largest camp in Lebanon and also a home to approximately 3,000 Lebanese citizens (Moujally 2012, 46). NBC originally occupied an area of 198,129 square meters, rented from the private sector by the UNRWA. The population rapidly grew and reached 31,023 Palestinians, which led to a natural extension of the camp onto approximately two square kilometers additional land from the adjacent villages of Muhammara and Bhanine (Moujally 2012, 46). The term “Old Camp” refers to the official camp established in 1949 by the LRCS, while the extended adjacent area is known as the “New Camp” (Abdel Kader 2015, 4).

NBC is situated on the Mediterranean shoreline; approximately ten miles north of Tripoli, the second largest Lebanese city, and some twenty miles from the Syrian borders. The immediate vicinity includes three municipalities: Bibnine from North with Abde roundabout, Bhannine and the Bared River from South, and Mhammara from East. Additionally, the main road that linked Tripoli to the Akkar villages and neighboring Syria intersected the camp (Issa 2014, 80). All three municipalities sustained direct and indirect damage during the conflict. These adjacent areas form what is known as the “New Camp” with a population of nearly 10,000 persons. Over 80 percent of the attached areas’ inhabitants to NBC are Palestinian refugees, having moved from NBC and settling in these nearby portions (Government of Lebanon 2008). The separation between the two parts of the camp resulted in persistent conflict and political discourse related to the NBC battle. Issa (2014) found that NBC profited from its proximity to the Syrian border and its access to the Mediterranean Sea, which made it a link between the city of Tripoli, the villages of Akkar, and Syria. Until the 2007 battle, it had developed as an important wholesale distribution and economic center for the entire North Lebanon (Moujally 2012).

NBC benefited from relatively preferential treatment as a reward for the Fatah Al-Intifada military support to Syria in the “Abou Ammar War” in 1983, during which the Syrian Army successfully expelled Arafat loyalists from the camps in North Lebanon. The absence of Lebanese military on its outskirts explained this fact. The inhabitants had freedom of movement as well, as the free flow of building materials, allowing the expansion of the camp (Rougier 2008, 16). Also, NBC profited from its proximity to the Syrian borders and acted as a link between Tripoli and the Akkar rural region. NBC

developed an informal credit-based economy and an important wholesale distribution center for North Lebanon (Moujally 2012, 47). It became an important commercial hub and trading center for goods and agricultural products that were smuggled in from Syria, mostly by the Mediterranean Sea, into Tripoli and the Akkar villages. Also, strong economic and social ties were built with the adjacent area due to commercial activities, and many mixed marriages between Lebanese and Palestinian refugees was an interpretation of this fact (Sheikh Hassan and Hanafi 2010).

Fath Al-Islam

Berti (2015) argued that the Lebanese geographic situation in the heart of “Bilad Al-Sham,” often translated as “the Levant,” made Lebanon a part of the ideological, political, and territorial state-building project of the Islamic State’s and FAI’s intent in North Lebanon. FAI can be described as a Salafi multinational terrorist group founded by the Palestinian-Jordanian Shaker Al-Absi who was born in 1955 in Ain Al-Sultan camp in Ariha, Palestine. The first appearance of the FAI was in 2006 after an armed clash in Beddawi Palestinian Camp in North Lebanon, 6 miles south of NBC (Rougier 2008). In fact, FAI emerged in November 2006, because of its split from Fatah Al-Intifada which was considered as a Syrian-backed Palestinian group based in Lebanon. This latter group split off Yasser Arafat’s mainstream organization “Fatah” and was formed by the Palestinian Militant Shaker Al-Absi (Bloom 2007). He was a close associate of Abu Musaab Al-Zarqawi, the former leader of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, and is believed to be the original connection between FAI and Al-Qaeda. They planned the assassination of a U.S. diplomat, Laurence Foley, in Jordan in 2002 (BBC News 2010).

The expansion of FAI may be related to the withdrawal of Syrian intelligence and security agents from Lebanon in 2005, which was a result of the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. The group's several hundred fighters were Syrians, Saudis, Yemenis, and Lebanese with a lesser number of Palestinians. Among the insurgents were some Moroccans and Algerians (Saidi 2007). Most scholars agree that during the July 2006 Israeli war in Lebanon, Shaker Al-Absi was able to gather a huge amount of ammunition, explosives, and heavy weapons. During this period, many nationality groups (Palestinian, Jordanian, Syrian, and others), which had a lot of combat experience in countries like Iraq and Afghanistan, fled to the NBC and joined the FAI (Rougier 2008).

Rougier traces the birth of jihadist thoughts in the Palestinian community to the Iranian networks in the Southern Lebanon camps, starting in the 1960s (Rougier 2008, 49). However, since the late 1990s, the Salafist trend that remodeled Islamism was more convincing to the Palestinian refugee community. This trend seemed to resolve the confessional gap and regional sectarian rift between Sunnis and Shiites. As the Sunni-Shiite split became wider following Hariri's assassination in 2005 and the July 2006 War, Salafi ideology flourished among those Sunnis in Lebanon who sought to emulate the Shiite Hezbollah's model. The Salafi rise was particularly promising in North Lebanon, where the city of Tripoli served as a strategic locale for a symbolic representation of the scattered Lebanese Sunni community (Rougier 2008, 254). In this context, the FAI Salafi group was able to penetrate NBC and secure a military base inside in late 2006.

The FAI group's origin was believed to be inspired by Al-Qaeda and its militant interpretation of Jihad, and an aspiration to establish a Caliphate or Islamic rule in North

Lebanon. Several theories provide greater insight into the motives that drove FAI to extend and growth. FAI used the “Caliphate” principles where the “Amir” or the “Allegiant Prince” was Shaker Al-Absi, the leadership council was composed of Abou Salim Taha (media representative), and the military commander was Shhab Khodor Kaddour (aka Abou Hureira). Naiim Taysir Ghali (aka Abou Riyad) was the North Front commander was, Khayralla Muhammad Khalaf (aka Abou Al-Shahid) was the Central Front commander, Alaa Mohammad Ali Asef (aka Abou Ajniha) was the South Front commander, and Talha Al-Saudi was the Arabs’ Militants commander. The legislative board was composed of its head Ibrahim Abdel Wahab (aka Abou Madyan), Abou Baker (Syrian), Abou Al-Haris (KSA), Abou Al-Saiid (Palestinian), and Shahine Shahine (aka Abou Salma) (Abdel Kader 2015, 15).

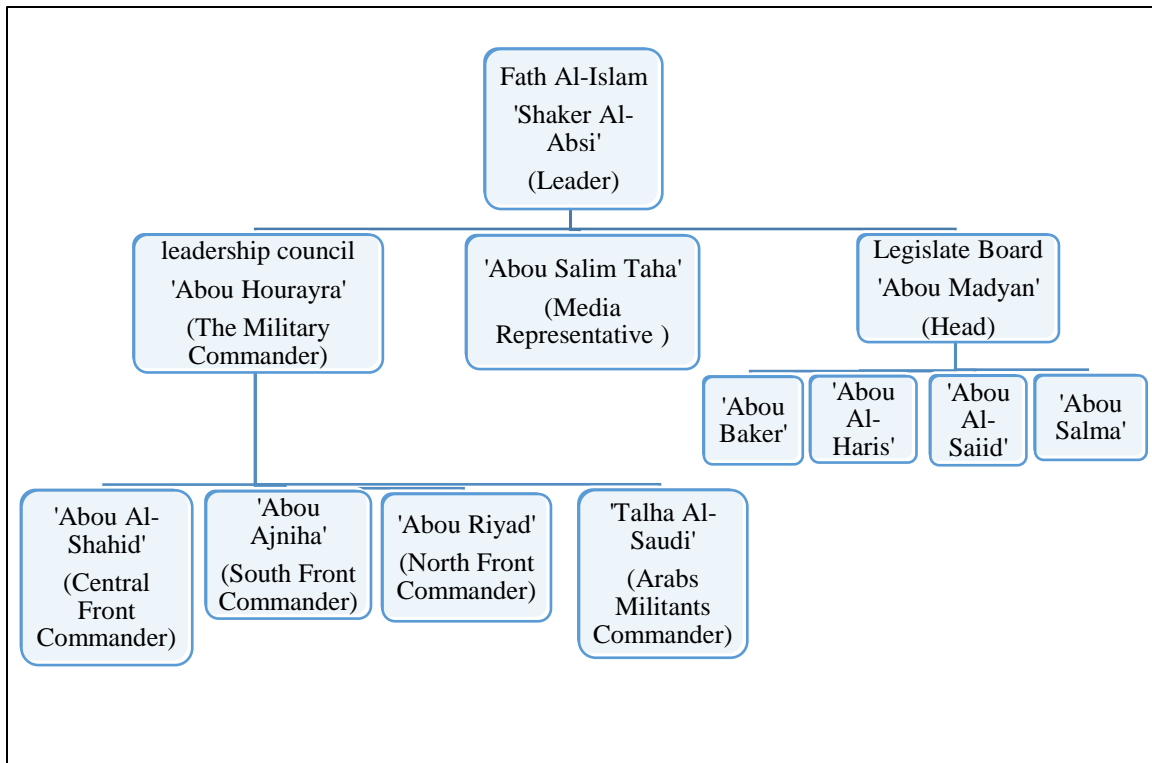


Figure 4. FAI Organization Chart

Source: Created by the author.

According to Haddad (2010), the origin of FAI can be studied from two different perspectives. He argued in his first interpretation that the Syrian government created the group to shake the Lebanese internal security and consequently obstruct the course of an investigation by the International Tribunal into Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri's assassination, which occurred on 14 March 2005. His second perspective was that the freedom of maneuver that the FAI had was because of the different Lebanese opponents' local and regional agendas, which met with the group's ideology and intent. Meanwhile, Seymour Hersh in 2007 stated that FAI was financially supported by the Future Sunni Movement of the Hariri's family (precisely Bahiyya Al-Hariri, the former Prime

Minister's sister and deputy in the Lebanese Parliament). The goal was to serve as a "counterweight to the rising power of Hezbollah" which has been particularly evident after the July 2006 war with Israel.

Instruments of National Power

The concept of the DIME in the U.S. originates from the 1960s, where there was a direct correspondence between agencies and these instruments. The Department of State holds the diplomatic instrument's mechanisms and the Department of Defense (DoD) the military ones. The US. Agency for International Development held the economic instrument abroad and the US. Information Agency communicated America's message to the world and described the informational instrument (Worley 2015, 6).

Deptula (2001) argued that the nation's power does not rest in the military alone, it is stronger when the full weight of national power is applied simultaneously and when effort across all instruments are integrated. From here came the reason for the creation of the National Security Council in 1947. Later, the Goldwater-Nichols DoD Reorganization Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-433) was created. It has served the U.S. in strengthening combatant commanders, raising the quality of joint staffs, and advancing joint force operations (Deptula 2001, 1). However, Deptula stated that the world had changed substantially in the past 60 years, and the threats faced are unconventional with the capability to create strategic effects. From this fact comes the need to apply DIME options. He also argued that, as the DoD has evolved in the post-Cold War environment, Goldwater- Nichols has created unintended consequences and has resulted in a focus on military integration, but failed to develop a similar focus on incorporating all the elements of national power. In his opinion, what is needed today and will be needed even

more so in the future, is more than just a better integration of military forces. There is a need to improve the unity of effort across all the pillars of the nation's diplomatic, informational, military, and economic (DIME) vastly (Deptula 2001, 8, 18).

In 1964, Carr provided a good starting point in discussing the instruments of power. He argued that the political power is the primary element. In the international sphere, it may be divided into three categories: “military power, economic power, and power over opinion where power is an indivisible whole” (Carr 1964, 108). He also emphasized that one instrument cannot survive without the others. During the Cold War, Carr’s formulation of DIME was supplanted. The acronym represented a standard shorthand for the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic instruments of national power. When the bipolar world of the Cold War ended, and transnational terrorism grew dramatically, terrorism became a national security issue in U.S. presidential directives. Transnational terrorism fundamentally changed the security landscape of the U.S. (Borkowski 2008, 11).

According to Nicholson and Schmorrow (2013), from 1992 to recent, the history of development in the DIME domain is divided into three periods. The first period called the academic period extends from 1992 to 1996 where most of the interest in the DIME was only a part of the theoretical world. During the first DoD period from 1996 to 2001, a series of conferences were held to define the instruments of national power domain and identify development needs. Nowadays, the primary source that contains lessons from various DIME theoretical discussions is the Command and Control Research Program (CCRP). The year 2001 was marked by the increase in interest and study of the DIME, both in their creation and in use (Nicholson and Schmorrow 2013). Borkowski (2008)

explained that, in the twenty-first century, states found themselves involved in new kinds of unconventional warfare (UW). It was not until 11 September 2001, when the fateful attacks occurred, that terrorism became a major issue to the U.S. government. As illustrated by the 9/11 Commission report, individual congressional representatives and senators took steps in addressing terrorism as a matter of national security. The new security threat needed an effective response, and this lies in leveraging the DIME on the new threats of transnational terrorism (Borkowski 2008).

Subsequently, the world changed fundamentally due to the speed of communication, social media, and the impact of globalization. The use of force only is not enough to break the enemy's will and advance the interests of nations. Also, the old notions of war are no longer sufficient to deal with the new terrorist challenges. Governments must include the use of all instruments of national power (DIME) (Borkowski 2008). For the government to accomplish its national security mission, the four instruments of national power: diplomatic, informational, military, and economic (DIME), need to be efficiently integrated to produce optimal national security effects, support the national security strategy, and try to prevent war (Borkowski 2008, 1). The U.S. embraced this more complex image of national power, and a series of formal policy documents introduced different models of power intended to convey the conclusion that, viewed comprehensively national power has multiple and overlapping sources. These models are expressed by the increasingly ambitious acronym DIME (Jablonsky 2006). This concept is explained deeply in the U.S. Joint Publication 1-0 (2013) "Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States." This manual is considered the cornerstone for

the study of the DIME. It states that these instruments are “All of the means available for the government in its pursuit of national objectives.”

The Lightning Press (2016) defines the instruments of national power as “the tools a country uses to influence other nations or international organizations or even non-state actors.” The way the U.S. president plans to use the instruments of power to achieve U.S. national security objectives is explained in the 2010 National Security Strategy (NSS) prepared and mandated by Congress. This key document states that all successful engagements depend upon the effective use and integration of different elements of national power. In particular, the economy should be inextricably linked to the global economy and the prosperity serves as a wellspring for power. It pays for the military, underwrites our diplomacy and development efforts, contributes to a stable and peaceful political and economic environment, and serves as a leading source of our influence in the world (White House 2010).

The 2010 NSS also argued that to succeed, the U.S. must balance and integrate all elements of national power and update national security capacity. Diplomacy must be modernized and be able to support the full breadth of U.S. interests. The informational and communication efforts must be synchronized and integrated with the U.S. allies and partners’ national security policies. Military’s conventional superiority must be enhanced to defeat asymmetric threats. The economic instrument is the “bedrock” of sustainable national prosperity and influence (White House 2010). Joint Pub 1-0 defined the diplomatic instrument as the primary tool for interacting with states, non-states actors, and foreign groups to advance U.S. values, interests, and objectives, and to seek international support for U.S. military operations. The informational instrument refers to

the use of the media and online social media platform to communicate official messages and shape the OE for national strategic goals. The military instrument is the use of military assets and the application of force in support of national security goals to fight the adversary and win the war. Finally, the economic power is the use of economic measures to implement economic growth, raise the standard of living, and prevent financial disasters.

The importance of the application of these instruments appears in JP 1-0, which explains, “The ability of the United States to achieve its national strategic objectives is dependent on the effectiveness of the U.S. Government (USG) in employing the instruments of national power” (Joint Chief of Staff 2013). It clarifies the closely interrelated relationship between these instruments and the difficulty in separating between them. Each one has its importance separately and provides more effect when synergistically associated with the others. The relation between these elements is also explained in the “U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy”, where it emphasizes not only the importance of studying each element separately but also the effects of those elements on one another. It also explained that these complexities are encountered because the national power is “both dynamic and relative.” The publication went further in stating their relation to the adversary potential and realized power. It clarified that states’ and non-state actors’ power changes continuously and imposes a need for continuous estimation of the national power.

Summary

In this chapter, major concepts, theories, and studies have been reviewed in an attempt to generate a comprehensive and thorough discussion about Palestinian refugees

and refugee camps, Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian Camp, Fath Al-Islam, and the instruments of national power. The sources listed in this chapter are organized in a thematic review according to the thesis subtopics and chronologically by the progression of time inside of each subtopic. These subtopics were considered most relevant and related to the analysis of 2007 battle, and to understand the LAF application of the instruments of national power in NBC. The process was achieved by using books, scholarly studies, and academic scholarships and uploading articles, newspapers, and internet websites that provide the essential background information related to the subtopics and reflected the LAF engagement of NBC.

This literature review results indicate that the Palestinian's presence in Lebanon has existed since their expulsion from Palestine during the "Nakba" in 1948. The establishment of Palestinian camps allowed the Lebanese state and its armed forces to control the refugees more easily. The UNHCR recognizes 12 refugee camps, and the UNRWA is formally in charge of these camps. The relevant UNRWA statistics and real Palestinian community figures in Lebanon have some contradictions and gaps. Palestinian figures in Lebanon were estimated to be around 455,000. The biggest camp in both size and population is Ain Al-Hilweh, and the second largest is NBC with around 33,000. The latter developed an informal credit-based economy and an important wholesale distribution center for North Lebanon. Internal policing was left to the Palestinians themselves. FAI can be described as a Salafi multinational terrorist group founded by the Palestinian-Jordanian Shaker Al-Absi. The first appearance of the FAI was in 2006 after an armed clash in Beddawi Palestinian Camp in North Lebanon. The FAI group's origin was believed to be inspired by Al-Qaeda to establish a Caliphate or

Islamic rule in North Lebanon. The DIME acronym was used as a standard shorthand for the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic instruments of national power. For the LAF to accomplish its national security mission, the four instruments of national power needed to be implemented effectively. During the NBC battle in 2007, the LAF faced the most painful experience in its history. This period saw the rapid increase of FAI in NBC, which put the LAF under tremendous pressure.

An accurate analysis of the literature review establishes a common understanding of the subtopics and consequently an understanding of the LAF application of DIME to NBC. Studying these issues not only clarifies the general discussion of this thesis but also serves as a theoretical base to the coming chapters. These upcoming events needed a high level of situational awareness and influenced the vision of both the Lebanese government and military forces. It highlighted a need to reevaluate the threat and to build new strategies to deal with the situation. Answering the thesis question, how did the LAF use the instruments of national power (DIME) to engage Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian camp, will provide some emphasis on how the strategy may be changed in the future. Then the LAF might move forward based on the results of this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter outlines the present study methodology. More specifically, the chapter presents the research questions, description of the instruments and sources used in the thesis, the data collection procedures, and finally the data analysis process. The study was conducted in this framework with the goal of finding trustworthy, authentic, and credible evidence for analysis.

Research Questions

In the light of the investigation discussed in the literature review, the present study will answer the primary research question: how did the LAF use the instruments of national power to engage Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian camp? and the secondary research questions: What are the diplomatic measures that the LAF has taken to reinforce its position before the FAI's terrorist organization in NBC? What are the informational activities that have helped the LAF to understand better the informational aspect in the NBC? What are the LAF's military capabilities necessary for an adequate projection of Lebanese military power on the NBC? What are the economic measures that the LAF took in reducing FAI's ability to survive longer inside NBC?

Instruments and Sources of the Present Study

In this study, the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic instruments of national power (DIME) are used for collecting qualitative data. The sources of the present study are a selection of state documents, books, magazine articles, newspapers, internet

websites, and open media that provided information about the instruments of national power. Particularly relevant to the study are UNRWA statistics and reports 2006, 2007, 2008, 2014, theses and books from researchers that provide the essential background information related to the topic, U.S. publications related to the DIME, Lebanese daily magazines, the Lebanese Army's magazine. Thus, the primary source was Nizar Abdel Kader's book published by the LAF (Abdel Kader 2015), which analyzed the NBC battle and its OE deeply. These documents provided detailed essential background information related to the study and will help the reader to understand the situation in NBC.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection method used for evaluation of this thesis is the document review method. This method is a way of collecting data by examining existing records. The documents may be internal or external to an organization in an electronic or paper. They may also include reports, program logs, performance ratings, funding proposals, meeting minutes, newsletters, and marketing materials (ETA Evaluation 2009). The document review process provides the researcher with a systematic procedure for identifying, analyzing, and deriving useful information from these existing documents. The purpose is to examine a variety of current sources, program records, and other materials not gathered or developed specially for the evaluation (e.g., documents, reports, data files, and other written artifacts) to collect independently verifiable data and information (WBI Evaluation Group 2007). This method will be applied by using documents which were originally collected for purposes other than the program documentation, but are useful for the evaluation. An example is previous similar studies

used to compare current research with these scholars' studies (Harvard Graduate School of Education 2004).

Data Analysis

This study used the qualitative methodology, narrative design, in a historical context. The descriptions of the engagement of NBC battle by the LAF will be analyzed using the DIME. The information for this methodology already exists, and no generation or outside the collection of external data is needed. The qualitative paradigm must have the characteristics of all research: "truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality to be considered worthwhile" (Morse et al. 2002, 15). Also, it must ensure its trustworthiness by having the following criteria: "credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability" (Morse et al. 2002, 15). The narrative design is a frame of reference, a way of reflecting during the entire inquiry process, a research method, and a model for representing the research study.

According to John W. Creswell, the codes that relate to a narrative study are chronology, an analysis that can be either the plot or the three-dimensional space model, and themes that may arise from the study based on the elements analyzed. He arranged them in a template that describes the coding of this study (Creswell 2007, 170). Narrative summary typically involves the selection, chronicling, and ordering of evidence to produce an account of proof. It can account for complex dynamic processes and offer explanations that emphasize the sequential and contingent character of the phenomena. It may vary from the simple recounting and description of findings to more explicitly reflexive and interpretive accounts that include commentary and higher levels of abstraction (Abbott 2013, 140-150). The historical context varies because the conditions

are in constant change and will provide opportunities for learning and development (Moen 2006, 3). The Written Document Analysis Worksheet is also used to analyze the credibility and convenience of each document used (Illustration 2).

All this will allow a broad interpretation of the facts and experiences concerning this thesis. These experiences are structured by organizing them into meaningful units. In this thesis, these useful units are the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic instruments of national power. The research will try through this narrative approach to recount the experience, create reasonable order out of the experience, and find a practical solution to the fundamental problem. This narrative inquiry studies both the phenomenon (LAF engaging the NBC battle) and the method of the study (DIME) (Moen 2006, 9). The narrative research approach will be placed within the framework of the NBC and examine the battle itself briefly. In doing so, the four fundamental underpinnings incorporated in the narrative approach will be presented.

The first step in this methodology is to analyze the manner in which the LAF engaged the camp using the diplomatic instrument of national power and what negotiations were held during the battle. The second step is to investigate the utilization of the informational instrument and how the LAF disseminated and advertised its will. The third step is to examine the usage of the military instrument of national power and how it was projected throughout the operation. The fourth step in this methodology is to explore the use of the economic instrument and how the LAF applied restrictive economic measures. The four elements employed in this analysis will be analyzed separately to determine how effective the LAF was in using them in the battle.

This research methodology should present a non-biased view of the factors affecting the elements of national power employed by the LAF in engaging the NBC battle. This analysis should provide predictive DIME aspects that will continue to impact on the LAF effectiveness. The challenge is to collect extensive information about the research and have a clear understanding of the context of the NBC battle. Leon Edel emphasizes the importance to “figure under the carpet” that explained the multilayer context of the research (Edel 1984).

Summary

It is important to understand how the LAF actions are related to the NBC battle context in which they occur, and the sequences of events of how and where they happen through growth. The narrative as a unit of analysis offers the means for doing this, and the results can be used as thought-provoking tools and recommendations within the field of military doctrine and training (Moen 2006, 1). The information gathered was analyzed using the framework provided by the instruments of national power. The results of the analysis are then used to determine how the LAF used the instruments of national power (DIME) to engage NBC. The study provides answers to the primary and secondary research questions.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Introduction

The analysis follows the instruments of national power construct and addresses the LAF application of these instruments in NBC battle. The primary question that this study will answer is how the LAF used the DIME to engage Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian camp. During this analysis, each element of national power will be analyzed separately and will answer each of the secondary questions, allowing an improved understanding of the LAF engagement of NBC battle. The first step in this analysis is to answer the first secondary question by analyzing the manner in which the LAF engaged the camp using the diplomatic instrument of national power and what negotiations were held during the battle. The second step is to answer the second secondary question by investigating the utilization of the informational instrument of national power and how the LAF disseminated and advertised its will. The third step is to answer the third secondary question by examining the use of the military instrument of national power and how it was projected throughout the operation. The fourth step in this analysis is to answer the fourth secondary question by exploring the usage of the economic instrument of national power and how the LAF applied restriction measures on the FAI.

Diplomatic Element of National Power

This step of the analysis addresses the first secondary research question: What are the diplomatic measures that the LAF has taken to reinforce its position before the FAI's terrorist organization in NBC? Diplomacy is also called the political instrument and relies

on the persuasion capabilities of governments. Negotiations between countries and through international and multinational institutions are also included under diplomacy (Worley 2015, 238). The Lebanese constitution represents the primary document that sets the legal basis for the Lebanese Government. The LAF, according to the amendment by the Constitutional Law of 21 September 1990, is under the Council of Ministers (the Government) authority through the Ministry of Defense. It states “The executive authority shall be vested in the Council of Ministers. It shall be the authority to which the armed forces are subject” (Government of Lebanon 1995).

The Lebanese Constitution of 23 May 1926 with its amendments designated the Lebanese President as “Commander in Chief” of the Armed Forces. Article 49; as amended by the 17 October 1927 Constitutional Law, the constitutional law of 8 May 1929, the constitutional law of 21 January 1947, and the constitutional law of 21 September 1990, states “The President of the Republic is the head of the state and the symbol of the nation's unity. He shall safeguard the constitution and Lebanon's independence, unity, and territorial integrity. The President shall preside over the Supreme Defense Council and be the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces which fall under the authority of the Council of Ministers” (Government of Lebanon 1995).

The LAF leadership is comfortable with traditional civilian authority over the military and executes the overall orders of the government and the President. However, the LAF took an autonomous response to the FAI terrorist group attacks in 2007 and assassination of its soldiers. The LAF leadership felt this attack could undermine the stability of Lebanon or the unity of the LAF as a fighting force (Nerguizian 2009, 10). The National Defense Law, Decree number 102 on 13 September 1983 and its

amendments, assign the LAF three missions: Defense, Security, and Development. These missions aim to defend the nation's borders against any external attack, preserve sovereignty, protect the Constitution, maintain security and stability, and contribute to providing social stability and development (Government of Lebanon 1995).

In 1991, based on the Lebanese Cabinet's resolution, the LAF was entrusted with the mission of keeping internal peace and stability, side by side with the other security forces, with a significant role in building the country's infrastructure and relieving the citizens' suffering during crises and catastrophes (Government of Lebanon 1995). This focusing of the LAF toward internal security instead of the Police, the ISF in Lebanon, reflects its positioning toward the PRC in Lebanon, and NBC in particular. This fact explains why the LAF serves as the principal foundation for the diplomatic instrument of national power in this research and the importance of the LAF's effectiveness in employing diplomacy. The Cairo Agreement in 1969, signed by the PLO and the Lebanese State, represented by the LAF commander at that time General Emile Al-Bustani, regulated the relations between Palestinian camps and the State and endorsed the Palestinian self-rule inside the camps (Brynen 1990). Even though the 1989 Taif Agreement, which ended the civil war in Lebanon, stated in the last sentence of the preamble, "No authority violating the common co-existence charter shall be legitimate." The 12 Palestinian camps including the NBC were kept out of reach of the LAF. In fact, the role of LAF remained restricted to military checkpoints at the camps' entrances (New World Encyclopedia 2016).

The importance of negotiations in conflicts is that it represents the most important tool of diplomacy whether in a formal or informal setting (Bartholomees 2012). During

and after the NBC battle, many negotiations were conducted trying to solve the crisis. A couple of days after the fight started, the Minister of Defense Elias El-Murr said, “I am leaving room for political negotiations,” which must lead to the surrender of FAI fighters. He also stated that if the political negotiations failed, he would leave to the military command to do “what is necessary.” French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner visited Lebanon and met Prime Minister Fouad Siniora, the Higher Shiite Islamic Council’s leader Sheikh Abdul Amir Qabalan, and other political and religious officials. At a press conference, he stated that the former colonial power, France, supported the Lebanese government’s decision to finish FAI and planned on sending military assistance. “We back the government and the Army. The decision is up to them, and if they take such a decision, it would be fair” (Al Arabiya News 2007).

On 2 June 2007, the first negotiations between LAF and FAI started to make FAI surrender. The FAI militants exploited this period to improve their operational positioning and to booby-trap everything they could, including their militants’ dead bodies. The LAF did not use heavy weapons so as to avoid casualties among civilians. On the other side, the French Associated Press passed on an FAI statement threatening to carry the war outside the camp if the LAF continued its attack. Also, FAI media representative Abou Salim Taha stated, “We took the initiative to cease fire, and we demand the LAF to commit” (Abdel Kader 2015, 26). Almost 20,000 Palestinians were moved out during this period to the nearby Beddawi camp and Tripoli. The Lebanese Red Cross evacuated the sick, injured, and elderly refugees with the assistance of the Lebanese Red Crescent. Palestinians were also able to check on their properties and stores, and International Red Cross humanitarian aid was allowed to enter the camp.

After the unsuccessful negotiation between LAF and FAI, the combat continued (Abdel Kader 2015, 27).

On 6 June 2007, Fathi Yakan, the “Daiia” or “Islamic Preacher,” submitted an initiative to the LAF headquarters to find a solution to the crisis that included a cease-fire from both adversaries, a disbandment of the FAI terrorist organization, and expulsion of its fighters outside Lebanon. The FAI refused the initiative, and its military leader Shahine Shahine threatened to conduct terrorist attacks outside NBC (Abdel Kader 2015, 30). On 14 July 2007, the LAF and FAI held another unsuccessful negotiation attempt to get to a peaceful ending of the conflict while the FAI was launching missiles on Akkar Villages and North highway. Also, their media representative Abou Salim Taha and military leader Shahine Shahine were threatening to attack civilians around the camp in response to the LAF bombardment (Abdel Kader 2015, 39). During the battle, Ali Faisal, a member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, contacted the Lebanese government and the LAF command asking to allow food and medical supplies to the remaining civilians in the camp. He also met with former Prime Minister Salim Hoss, Hezbollah Member of Parliament Mohammed Raad, Member of Parliament Mohammed Qabbani, and head of the Syrian Socialist National Party Ali Qanso. Faisal discussed with them the need for the refugees’ quick return to NBC and suggested a Palestinian-Lebanese solution mechanism to the battle that guaranteed both the safety of the camp and the end of FAI (Bathish 2007).

Later on, Mohammad al-Hajj, a member of the Palestinian Clerics Association, said that the FAI had agreed to hand over its arms, dissolve the group, and give up some of his members to the LAF. However, this suggestion was refused by the LAF command,

which was insisting on no negotiations until the group hands over their leader Shaker Al-Absi and their military commander Shhab Khodor Kaddour (aka Abou Hureira). Also, Lebanese-Palestinian Dialogue Committee (LPDC) chief Khalil Makkawi talked about a government plan to rebuild the NBC and that it would be put before donor countries. He made the announcement while visiting Druze spiritual leader Naim Hassan. He also stated the camp's security would become the responsibility of the government when the fighting at the camp ended and that no Palestinian faction will have any control over the camp (Bathish 2007).

On 4 September 2007, two days after the end of the battle, Prime Minister Fouad Siniora announced the LAF "victory" and praised "the heroism" of its soldiers. He said, "I cheerfully inform you about the National victory and the steadfastness and the great triumph which the LAF achieved over the terrorists, those who sought chaos, destruction, and tragedies for Lebanon." He also promised to rebuild the camp and to place the new camp under state control (Now Lebanon 2007). The LAF handled these internal conflicts successfully to preserve its non-sectarian nature and arose as the only unbiased Lebanese institution. This national consensus on the performance of the LAF makes it, in the eyes of NBC refugees, a "reflection of Lebanese public opinion" (Abboud 2009). Comparing the NBC mission to the July 2006 war, the LAF's mission in NBC battle was easier regarding potential political losses. The LAF's role in the July 2006 war with Israel was minimal. The NBC fight was an opportunity to the LAF to improve its public image. Some argued that one of the consequences of the victory in NBC battle was the election in May 2008 of the LAF commander Michel Suleiman as Lebanese President (Abboud 2009).

This analysis of the diplomatic relationships and negotiations between LAF command, the Lebanese government officials, the Palestinian leaders and committees, and FAI in the NBC demonstrates the difficult situation that Lebanon experienced during that period. The issue is due to the weakness of long-standing Lebanese-Palestinian agreements and the devised posture among the various Palestinian factions. The LAF took diplomatic measures to reinforce its position before the FAI's terrorist organization and Palestinian's presence in NBC and Palestinian camps in general.

Informational Element of National Power

Clausewitz wrote in the 19th century, "In war, the Commander of an immense whole finds himself in a constant whirlpool of false and genuine information, of mistakes committed through fear, through negligence, through precipitation...of accidents which no mortal could have foreseen. In short, he is the victim of a hundred thousand impressions, of which the most have an intimidating, the fewest an encouraging tendency" (Howard and Paret 1989).

This step of the analysis addresses the second secondary research question: What are the informational activities that have helped the LAF to understand better the informational aspect in the NBC? The informational instrument of national power disseminates and collects information to foreign and domestic recipients. Its central objective is to communicate the government's story and spread its message to the world. It also encompasses non-state actors such as terrorist organizations, which use the information to promote their intents and ideology. The U.S. government develops this instrument to disseminate its ideas using popular programs like Radio Free Europe, Voice

of America, and the various cultural and educational exchange programs like the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Worley 2015, 229).

The LAF is more than just a military force; it represents the Lebanese population's unity and has a significant role and place in Lebanese society. It is the government's means to preserve a post-civil war ideology that gave priority to LAF unity above all else. This fact makes the LAF more sensitive to its public image. "We know that the *sine qua non* of victory in *modern warfare* is the unconditional support of a population" (Trinquier 1964, 8). Its media outlets and official website are the tools to communicate its ongoing operations, LAF policies, and to respond to verbal attacks against it by both local and international actors, which serves as the informational instrument of national power (Nerguizian 2009, 9). Also, the leaders and offices of the LAF Intelligence department had a significant effect on the outcome of the battle.

During the fight, the LAF allowed reporters from the Lebanese Army's magazine to enter the camp and do interviews with leaders and soldiers who fought in NBC. Also, the Lebanese Army's magazine published throughout the battle a series of articles to motivate and encourage the soldiers' families supporting the consequences of this hard combat. The visit of the Chief of Staff, General Michel Sleiman, to the battlefield during the NBC battle gave motivation to soldiers and a benefit to the LAF's accomplishments. The magazine also showed his visit to the injured soldiers in hospitals to check on their situation and to the martyrs' families to give his condolences (Directorate for Information Operations 2007c).



Figure 5. The LAF Chief of Staff Visiting the Forces in NBC Battle

Source: Directorate for Information Operations, “In the Field, Reassured to Military Fighters on the Battlefield and the Wounded in Hospitals and Comforted the Families of the Martyrs,” *The Lebanese Army’s Magazine*, 2007, accessed 14 January 2017, <https://www.lebarmy.gov.lb/ar/content/%D8%A7%D8%B7%D9%85%D8%A3%D9%86-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B3%D9%83%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%8A%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%86-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%A9-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%89-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%B4%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%88%D8%B9%D8%B2%D9%91%D9%89-%D8%A3%D9%87%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%A1>.

Another article was about an interview with the NBC operation commander Brigadier General Antoine Pano. He said that the LAF is fighting with young, motivated, brave soldiers who are unafraid of death, for the survival of the nation. He added that this is the first and final cause for which soldiers’ oath to be under the LAF motto of honor, sacrifice, and loyalty. Also, he promised the Lebanese people that after a short period,

FAI would be eliminated and those remaining alive would be handed over to the legal system for justice (Directorate for Information Operations 2007b). The magazine also announced during the battle “the Lebanese government declared that the LAF is for all Lebanon and the Lebanese.” It was stated that since the first moment of the outbreak of clashes between the LAF and FAI terrorist organization in the NBC, Lebanese position seemed clear unequivocal: “The Lebanese stood like an army behind their Army, and they donate everything they could morally and materially.” This post supported the fight in all stages and Lebanese celebrated the victorious Army in a rare national scene (Directorate for Information Operations 2007d).

Also, the LAF disseminated information about the booby-trapping techniques adopted by the militants, talking about implementing explosives everywhere, using dead bodies, animal deaths, trying to gain the hearts and minds of Lebanese populace against the FAI actions (Directorate for Information Operations 2007e). Meanwhile, a persistent error was the failure of intelligence to provide accurate information about the situation, the composition, the disposition, and the activities of terrorists and insurgents among Palestinians in NBC. FAI did not suddenly appear. In fact, it emerged in November 2006 and was formed by the Palestinian militant Shaker Al-Absi (Bloom 2007) who is believed to be the original connection between FAI and Al-Qaeda. Shaker Al-Absi was a close associate of Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, the former leader of Al-Qaeda in Iraq. The group's several hundred fighters also established small footholds in Tripoli and other refugee camps in addition to their presence in NBC. Most members of FAI were Syrians, Saudis, Yemenis and Lebanese. The Palestinians were the least numerous. The insurgents also included some Moroccans and Algerians (Saidi 2007).

FAI relied on both jihadi web forums and mainstream media to spread its message, apply propaganda and pressure, and recruit militants. The use of ideology sometimes seemed pragmatic, as the rhetoric used inside Lebanon differed from that used to attract foreign fighters. FAI had also relied on the mainstream media to gain support. Their leader Shaker Al-Absi and his military commander, the late Abu Hureira, gave several interviews to both Arabic and Western media. For instance, the New York Times interviewed Al-Absi in March 2007. The London-based Pan-Arab daily Al-Hayat interviewed FAI officials on several occasions, first in January 2007. Also, the group used jihadi web forums to publish their communiqués, which is a standard media strategy used by jihadi groups (Gade 2007, 51).



Figure 6. FAI Leaders with Al-Hayat reporter

Source: Badih Karhani, *Fatah El Islam sous les Feux des Projecteurs* (Paris: Centre de Recherches sur le Terrorisme, 2007), accessed 13 January 2017, <http://www.recherches-sur-le-terrorisme.com/Documentsterrorisme/fatah-al-islam-absi.html>.

The first FAI statement was a secret one. In it, the organization revealed the formal name of Fath Al-Islam and promised their support to Muslim population inside and outside the camp. The group also stated that it would not allow any friction inside the camp and that recruitment is open for all Palestinians to join and train. The first formal announcement by the FAI was on 29 November 2006 when it distributed a statement in NBC announcing the establishment of the terrorist organization and the closure of Fatah offices in the camp. It threatened all other factions to obey its orders and gave them forty-eight hours to do so. FAI also asked all Palestinians in the camp to stay in their houses to stay safe if anything happened. FAI's third announcement on 26 February 2007, was addressed toward the LAF checkpoints around the camp and the secret agents deployed inside NBC. They threatened the LAF of attacking and destroying these military procedures and requested the immediate withdrawal of all troops. FAI also threatened to attack all LAF checkpoints simultaneously, if the pullout did not happen within 48 hours (Abdel Kader 2015, 10-12). In response to this threat, the LAF upgraded the level of awareness and added reinforcements to the checkpoints. The situation stayed tense inside the camp between the different Palestinian factions and FAI. On 29 April 2007, FAI publicized its last declaration and accused the LAF of humiliating and torturing the Islamic people on the checkpoints. The organization advised all Muslim soldiers in the LAF to reconsider on which side they stand. The FAI also compared these soldiers and their actions to the Israeli soldiers' actions in Palestine, and the American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan (Abdel Kader 2015, 12).

There were no accurate reports on the number of the insurgents who were in FAI before the beginning of the battle. By most accounts, it was a group of a few hundred

militants of various Arab and Muslim nationalities. The LAF estimated the number to be almost a thousand insurgents (Abdel Kader 2015, 9). Meanwhile, the Lebanese government stated the militants did not exceed 450, where 226 militants were killed in the war, and 215 were captured (Government of Lebanon 2008). The LAF did not stop disseminating information after the battle was over. In fact, the Lebanese Army's magazine published pictures and reports about the Lebanese celebrating the victory side by side with the civilians after the NBC battle, reflecting the support of Lebanese to their Army's success and sacrifices. Also, the magazine reported both church bells and the mosque minarets announced the joy of victory. The victory celebrations were all around the country, and people held dances after the announcement of the military triumph.



Figure 7. The Lebanese Celebrating the Victory after NBC Battle Side by Side with the Rangers

Source: Directorate for Information Operations, “His Excellency the Minister of National Defense: Do not be Afraid, the Army is with you,” *The Lebanese Army’s Magazine* accessed 11 January 2017, <https://www.lebarmy.gov.lb/ar/content/%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A-%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B7%D9%86%D9%8A-%D9%84%D8%A7-%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D9%81%D9%88%D8%A7-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%8A%D8%B4-%D9%85%D8%B9%D9%83%D9%85>.

From the informational point of view, the situation in NBC battle was managed by the LAF through an adequate implementation of information as an instrument of national power. The LAF had a good understanding of the informational aspect in the NBC and FAI terrorist actions and sent explicit messages of support to the Palestinians in the camp. This adequate knowledge may have helped counterbalance the biased and deceptive propaganda that FAI disseminated throughout the Palestinian refugees during the battle. An early use of the informational instrument of national power in NBC before the FAI actions would have created better circumstances for the military operations.

Military Element of National Power

This step of the analysis addresses the third secondary research question: What are the LAF's military capabilities necessary for an adequate projection of Lebanese military power on the NBC? The military instrument consists of the armed forces configured for military purposes. This tool is supported by law enforcement, public safety, and environmental protection governmental agencies (Worley 2015, 227). The purpose of searching the military instrument of national power was to state the LAF capabilities and identify its strengths and weaknesses in managing the NBC battle. "In modern warfare, it is essential to realize that victory will be obtained only through the complete destruction of the terrorist organization" (Trinquier 1964, 8). The LAF struggled for more than three months to overcome a relatively small number of militants and caused the destruction of homes of 27,000 people during the battle (International Crisis Group 2012). LAF's confrontation with shooters in the Nahr Al-Bared, a densely built camp, with less than three feet between buildings in Old Camp, with several underground bunkers filled with weapons ammunition, and ready-to-eat meals, was hard and challenging (Bathish 2007).

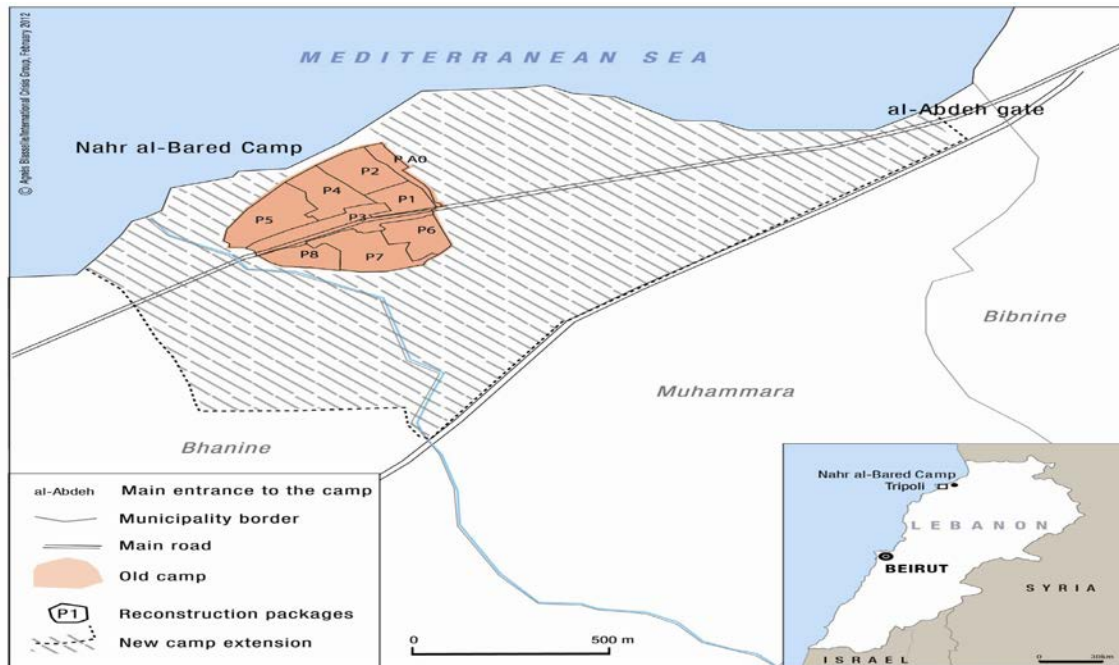


Figure 8. Map of Nahr Al-Bared Camp

Source: International Crisis Group, *Lebanon's Palestinian Dilemma: The Struggle over Nahr Al-Bared* (Beirut: International Crisis Group, 2012), 23, accessed 10 October 2016, <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/141098/117-lebanons-palestinian-dilemma-the-struggle-over-nahr-al-bared.pdf>.

The LAF did not lack professionalism or proficiency but did require modern equipment that the LAF had been unable to obtain for years. The defense expenditures represented less than 3 percent of Lebanon's GDP. According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Lebanon's 2007 defense budget stood at \$631 million, up from \$588 million in 2006. The LAF operated in an entirely different OE and required much aid for a situation where 30 to 40 percent of its total ammunition stocks were exhausted within the first week of fighting (Kéchichian 2008, 4,5).

The international military support to the LAF during the 2007 NBC battle was enormous. The LAF website stated "The assistance received from Syria, the USA, and

other friendly countries have played a necessary role in bridging the gap between needs and available means.” Syria supported the LAF in its battle against the FAI radical Islamist threat with ammunition, parts, and fuel to power many of its Syrian-bequeathed Soviet-era trucks and tanks (Nerguizian 2009, 22). The U.S. provided \$220 million with additional allocations slated for the immediate future (Kéchichian 2008). Bernard Kouchner, French Foreign Minister, during his visit to Lebanon on the 25 May, stressed France’s support to the LAF in ending FAI and promised military assistance (Al Arabiya News 2007). At the end of May 2007, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) sent SA-342L Gazelle attack helicopters to augment the LAF’s air assets. However, these systems lacked much-needed air-to-ground missile capabilities (Kahwaji 2007, 16).

The LAF engineer regiment used their D9 bulldozers and protected them with sand bags to open roads to allow supply, maintenance, and casualty evacuation. The fighting in Nahr Al-Bared battle was a genuine opportunity for the LAF to gain major combat experience in counter-insurgency and UW against well-armed and well-trained militants (Nerguizian 2009). More than 2,000 LAF troops participated in the NBC battle. The LAF had old 1950s tanks (American M48 A5 and Russian T54 - T55), and limited towed artillery units with poor targeting and counter-battery capabilities. The LAF soldiers had no night visions goggles (NVGs) to conduct nighttime combat, no sniper rifles with scopes, and many did not have adequate body armor or helmets. Lebanese special forces, despite their reputation and superior training, were not much better equipped (Blanford 2007).



Figure 9. The D 9 Bulldozer Opening a Road above the NBC Ruins

Source: Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 10. The American M48 A5 Tanks in NBC Battle

Source: Photograph taken by the author.

The LAF had minimal stockpiles of munitions at the beginning of the fighting, which left it concerned with running out of ammunition before FAI did. FAI had NVGs and sniper rifles with scopes and were able to access other Palestinian factions' stockpiles of heavier weapons (Katyusha rockets, RPG-7s, and mortars) which made them more lethal than LAF troops. FAI had intimate knowledge of the NBC layout and used hit and run attacks, sniper fire, and booby-trapped buildings, to delay the LAF forces' advance (Blanford 2007). The LAF was discouraged by the slow response of assistance to meet the immediate needs of equipment and ammunition for the ongoing operations. Thus, the LAF improvised regarding the augmentation of its air capabilities. The LAF modified some of its UH-1H helicopters to carry unguided bombs by using parts from old Hawker Hunter fighters, old Mirage components, and global positioning system (GPS) receivers. The LAF loaded 250 kg munitions on UH-1H utility helicopters and used them for aerial bombardment and close air support (CAS). Then, LAF quickly shifted to 400 kg bombs which were effective against FAI's fortified positions especially in the Old Camp (Opall-Rome 2008, 46).

These measures were necessary, and the militants used the high degree of fortification offered by bomb shelters in the camp that were originally built to provide protection to Palestinians from Israeli air strikes during the 1970s. Therefore, the LAF artillery fire had a limited effect on the FAI, and the tactics used ultimately proved to be the appropriate one (Blanford 2007). Regarding the booby-trapping techniques adopted by the militants, LAF soldiers and the engineering regiment elements encountered complicated explosives rigged for remote detonation of the buildings. Many improvised explosive devices (IED) were prepared for discharge, car bombs were parked on the

roadsides, and a lot of artillery shells and bombs were utilized (Directorate for Information Operations 2007a). The LAF had to wait to evacuate the civilian population before using heavy ammunition and bombardment to deal with the militants. More than two thousand inhabitants were evacuated in the first two days increasing to a rate of a thousand people a day. This process took more than ten days, during which the terrorists worked on installing the greatest number of booby traps in the New Camp. FAI had specialists and professionals in booby-trapping operations to slow the attacking forces' rhythm and incur the highest reasonable proportion of losses in their troops (Directorate for Information Operations 2008).

During the battle, the LAF surrounded the camp from all sides. Ground troops were in the East, North, and South, and Navy forces took care of the West side. Navy boats participated in the operations on the morning of 20 May 2007, closed the seashore successfully, and tightened the control of the camp. Also, the Navy provided the necessary support for the land forces battle and prevented militants' infiltration toward the West, and were able to arrest all those who tried to escape by sea, especially on the last day of the battle on 2 September 2007. The LAF worked on destroying the tunnels that connected the NBC to the neighboring areas and were used to smuggle ammunition and weapons inside the camp, which added more pressure on FAI. FAI found itself unable to resupply its fighters requiring the militants to economize their use of ammunition. This solid grip prohibited FAI militants from moving fighters, weapons, and equipment from and to the camp (Directorate for Information Operations 2008).

This siege resulted eventually in the need for FAI to try to escape. The end of the NBC battle was a breakout that began on 2 September 2007 when a group of militants

used an underground tunnel to get away. At the same time, another group struck LAF troops to try to escape. This attempt was assisted by fighters from outside the camp (Dakroub 2007). The breakout was unsuccessful and resulted in 45 militants killed and 24 captured. The number of FAI militants who were able to escape is unknown. Regarding casualties, the NBC battle resulted in the death of fifty civilians (predominantly Palestinians), 169 Lebanese soldiers, and 226 FAI militants (see Appendix A, Table 2). As for the physical loss, the battle resulted in the destruction of the Old Camp and severe damage to the New Camp. The cost was estimated by the Lebanese government at over 300 million USD with 5,493 residential, commercial, and institutional buildings in the Old Camp alone which needed to be entirely rebuilt (Government of Lebanon 2008). The Lebanese opinion, reflected in an October 2008 Information International survey, showed that in light of continued domestic political instability 62.7 percent of respondents were favorable of the military “taking control of the country for a temporary period” (Nerguizian 2009, 10) in the fight against FAI.

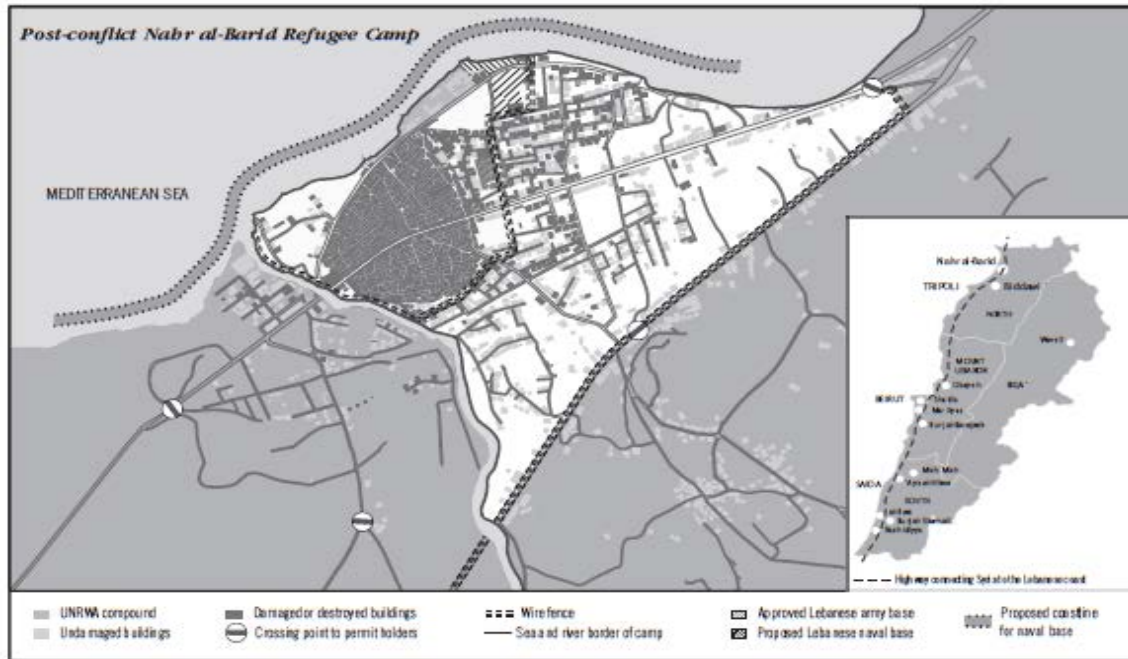


Figure 11. Map of Post-Conflict NBC

Source: Hassan Ismael Sheikh and Sari Hanafi, *Security and Reconstruction in Post-Conflict Nahr Al-Barid Refugee Camp* (California: Journal of Palestine Studies, 2010), 36, accessed 12 January 2017, <http://www.ucpressjournals.com/reprintinfo.asp>.

The analysis of the role of the LAF as the military instrument of the national power indicates the adequate projection of Lebanese military force on the camp. The military units that were located around the camp were not reinforced enough to be capable of defeating the FAI's attacks at the beginning of the battle. The LAF was able to develop, update, and acquire adequate military equipment for the defense of the Lebanese sovereignty against the rising threat of FAI terrorism in NBC. By applying its military instrument of national power, the LAF was able to defeat this terrorist organization and defend the nation.

Economic Element of National Power

This step of the analysis addresses the fourth secondary research question: What are the economic measures that the LAF took in reducing FAI's ability to survive longer inside NBC? The economic instrument of national power leverages the nation's wealth to influence others. In some countries, this includes the use of sanctions and foreign aid to exert pressure and influence over the rest of the world (Worley 2015, 232). The economic instrument of national power is described as follows: "Economic capacity and development are vital links to both natural and social determinants of power. Regarding natural resources, as we have seen, a nation may be well endowed but lack the ability to convert those resources into military hardware, high-technology exports, and other manifestations of power" (Bartholomees 2012).

The NBC was an emergency shelter established in 1949 by the LRCS to relocate Palestinian refugees from the cold weather in Beqaa Valley. The NBC population and the adjacent area at the time of the conflict were around 27,000 to 31,000 refugees. The Palestinians living in the NBC were suffering from poor urban planning and challenging access due to narrow roads and alleyways. The infrastructure was insufficient, and there was a lack of open community spaces (UNRWA 2008). Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have the worst socio-economic condition in UNRWA's five areas of operations with the highest percentage of individual hardship cases (SHCs) (UNRWA 2006). Ironically, the refugee camps' social and economic conditions at the time of their establishment were better than the conditions in their Lebanese surroundings. Refugee camps developed a symbiotic relationship with their environment. In the last sixty years, the growth of camps resulted in irregular spatial expansions, first vertically and then spilling over into

adjacent areas. Palestinians who purchased land and built houses in the nearby areas were better off economically. However, with the right neither to register nor to pass on their property to relatives, they faced significant risk (Landesz 2009, 74). The lack of available land for regular urban expansion led to high residents density in a small area (the official camp's area is approximately 200,000 square meters). The fact that it was prohibited to construct buildings over two stories in all the camps in Lebanon forced the refugees to add illegal shelters and resulted in random and poor quality construction. Also, the camp's residents had different health issues because of the absence of natural light and ventilation in many housing units (UNRWA 2008).

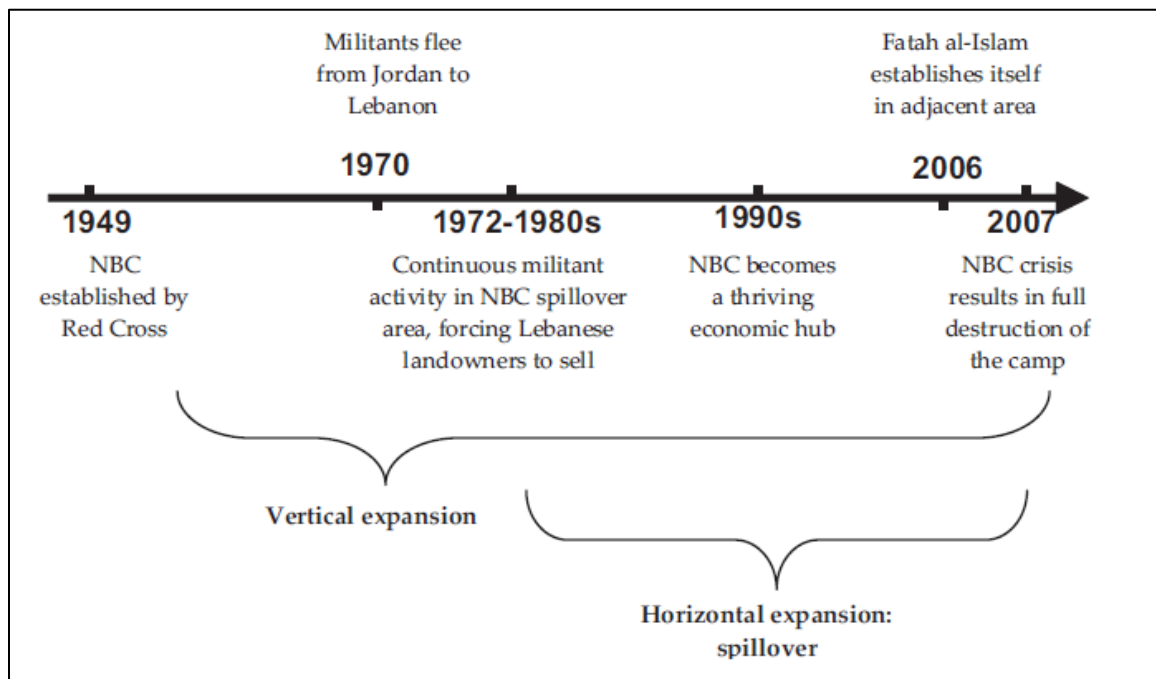


Figure 12. The Sixty Years of NBC Expansion

Source: Tamas Landes, *Prepping for Peace: A Report from a Palestinian Refugee Camp in Lebanon* (Kennelly School Review, March 2009), 74.

| Table 1. NBC and UNRWA Compound Assets Pre-Destruction 2007 | |
|--|------------------------|
| Type of Asset | Area |
| Residential Property | |
| Total Number of Apartments | 4,591 |
| Average Apartment Area | 78 m ² |
| Average Number of Floors | 2.41 Floors |
| Total Built Area Residential | 360,000 m ² |
| Commercial Property | |
| Total Number of Commercial Units | 880 Units |
| Total Built Area Commercial | 18,800 m ² |
| Communal/Institutional Property | |
| Number of Mosques | 4 |
| Number of Kindergartens | 6 |
| Number of Institutions | 10 |
| Number of Clinics/Dispensaries | 2 |
| Total Built for Communal/Institutional Facilities (Excluding Community-Based Organizations in UNRWA Compound) | 6,756 m ² |
| Total Number of Units in NBC: Residential (4,591), Commercial (880), Communal/Institutional (22) | 5,493 |
| UNRWA Compound (Adjacent to Official Camp) | |
| Number of School Buildings (Including One Under Construction at Time of Conflict) | 5 |
| Number of Health Centers (One UNRWA and One PRCS) | 2 |
| Kindergartens | 1 |
| Number of Community-Based Organization Buildings | 2 |
| Number of Agency Offices (Including One Distribution Centre) | 3 |
| Total Built Area for UNRWA Compound | 29,500 m ² |

Source: Government of Lebanon, *A Common Challenge, A Shared Responsibility, The International Donor Conference for the Recovery and Reconstruction of the Nahr el-Bared Palestinian Refugee Camp and Conflict-Affected Areas of North Lebanon* (Beirut: The Lebanese-Palestinian Dialogue Committee, 2008), 29, accessed 27 November 2016, <http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf>.

When it comes to unemployment, the Palestinian refugees were seen as the victims of discrimination. They remained generally unemployed until the 17 August 2010 amendment which allowed them to work in 72 different professions. Despite this fact, and before the conflict, NBC was the leading Palestinian camp in Lebanon regarding the prosperity due to its informal economy. It had many entrepreneurs and grew, due to its location in an agricultural area and its proximity to the Lebanese-Syrian borders, into a vital commercial center for the North (Shehadi 2010). The NBC camp was a source of cheap labor for the surrounding Lebanese agricultural communities. Cheaper goods and services were provided to neighboring Lebanese villages in the Akkar region, especially when compared to the prices in Tripoli. This allowed the development of a significant wholesale distribution center in NBC for North Lebanon and an informal credit-based economy. Additionally, its proximity to the Syrian border and its geographic position on the Mediterranean coast allowed smuggled goods to flee easily. NBC was a perfect market for smuggled weapons and ammunition sold on the black market. When compared to the residents of the nearby Beddawi Palestinian camp, the NBC community appeared wealthier. The modern appliances they had, personal gold that was found in their homes, the industries and big stores that sell construction materials, and the presence of the large market inside NBC and its relative remoteness from urban Tripoli explained this fact (Roberts 2010, 197).

The camp is the first economic hub of Akkar, with 300 large businesses, about 850 medium, and more than a thousand small businesses. The large firms included sanitary ware, gold, ice cream factories, vegetable traders, butcher's market that was feeding all of Tripoli and Akkar with meat, clothing dealers, commercial food, and home

appliances. The trade in the camp expanded to cover all of Northern Lebanon governorate where Akkar villages take all the business of these traders, and Nahr Al-Bared market included a length of 2 kilometers from the Aabdeh roundabout north to the Nahr-Al Bared bridge south. The New Camp had around 700 shops. The old primary market is located in the Old Camp with more than 500 stores (Al-Hadath 2017). The Palestinian refugees saw the NBC battle as a plan to neutralize them and to force their integration into the Lebanese community in the North. Also, when Lebanese entrepreneurs were given the contracts for reconstruction of the camp, NBC business persons went further to say that the NBC battle was motivated by “economic jealousy” of the camp’s prosperous economic situation (Moujally 2012).

During the battle, the camp was surrounded by LAF ground troops, which applied severe restrictions and forbade the FAI militants from having economic freedom inside NBC. This solid grip prohibited FAI militants from bringing fighters, weapons, equipment, and money from and to the camp. The Navy boats participated in the operations on the morning of 20 May 2007 when the Navy succeeded in closing the shoreline efficiently and tightening control from the West side on the camp (Directorate for Information Operations 2008). This military siege affected the neighboring villages of Akkar and North Lebanon by cutting the main road that connected Tripoli to Akkar, which affected these areas economically. The pressure on FAI escalated with Lebanese and Palestinians affected financially by FAI actions in the NBC battle. The LAF also worked on destroying the tunnels that connected the NBC to the neighboring areas that were used to smuggle ammunition and weapons inside the camp. This added more pressure on FAI as it was unable to bring its fighting needs and obliged the militants to

economize in their use of ammunition. The LAF influenced the government to put pressure on banks with FAI accounts to stop FAI's funding and ability to receive financial support.

The need to provide food, milk, and diapers to their families and kids required the FAI militants to negotiate with the LAF. In the beginning, FAI wanted to evacuate the wounded fighters with a promise of no trial, along with their families; the LAF rejected the request. After the military pressure had been augmented, the FAI asked, through the Palestinian Clerics Association and the Lebanese Red Cross, for the evacuation of their families from the camp. On 24 August 2007, the LAF evacuated 22 women and 43 children, with Lebanese Red Cross ambulances' help (Abdel Kader 2015, 45). After the evacuation, the combat intensified. The FAI militants had nobody to guard or to take care of, and they concentrated more on combat with no more distractions.



Figure 13. FAI Families' Evacuation from NBC

Source: Photograph taken by the author.

The LAF lacked modern equipment, which it had been unable to obtain for years. Defense expenditures represented less than 3 percent of Lebanese GDP. Lebanon's defense budget rose from \$588 million in 2006 to \$631 million in 2007. Between 30 to 40 percent of LAF total ammunition stocks were exhausted within the first week of fighting. The LAF operated in an entirely different OE and required significant aid (Kéchichian 2008, 4,5). At the beginning of the battle, the LAF was discouraged by the slow pace of assistance in equipment and ammunition to respond to the immediate needs of the ongoing operations. Later during the battle, the international financial support to the LAF and the Lebanese government started to appear. Syria supported the LAF in its battle with ammunition, parts, and fuel to power many of its Syrian-bequeathed Soviet-era trucks and tanks (Nerguizian 2009, 22). The U.S. Congress approved a 2007 budget, which includes \$280 million in military aid, military supplies, equipment, and ammunition supplies. This amount was seven times more than the \$40 million unblocked in 2006. Also, it was revealed that Washington also planned to give \$30 million as emergency funding. The French government supported the LAF and promised to send military assistance (Al Arabiya News 2007). The United Arab Emirates (UAE) sent SA-342L Gazelle attack helicopters to augment the LAF's air assets. However, these systems lacked much-needed air-to-ground missile capabilities (Kahwaji 2007, 16). On the other hand, the LAF soldiers received supplies and food from the Lebanese who lives in the Akkar villages, and they showed enormous sympathy with the LAF and provided nostalgically excellent cooperation. Many Lebanese were eager to enter the camp and fight with the LAF. They even kept trucks ready to carry food, munition, and soldiers from and to the camp (Al Jak 2007).

| Table 2. Assets Losses in New/Old NBC Areas, in Millions U.S. Dollars | | | |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Old Camp | New Camp | Total |
| Housing | 77 | 50 | 127 |
| Palestinian Businesses | | | |
| Real Estate Damage | 1.8 | 1.8 | 3.6 |
| Loss of Equipment and Inventories | 1.6 | 1.5 | 3.1 |
| Other Businesses | | | |
| Real Estate Damage | 0 | 11.6 | 11.6 |
| Loss of Equipment and Inventories | 0 | 9.4 | 9.4 |
| Total | 80.4 | 74.3 | 154.7 |
| Infrastructure | 19.2 | 5 | 24.2 |
| Other | 33.2 | 21.3 | 54.5 |
| Grand Total | 132.8 | 100.6 | 233.4 |

Source: Samer Abboud, *The Siege of Nahr al-Barid and the Palestinians in Lebanon* (Beirut: Arab Studies Quarterly, 2009), 39, accessed 28 November 2016, https://www.academia.edu/1256576/The_Siege_of_Nahr_al-Barid_and_the_Palestinians_in_Lebanon?auto=download.

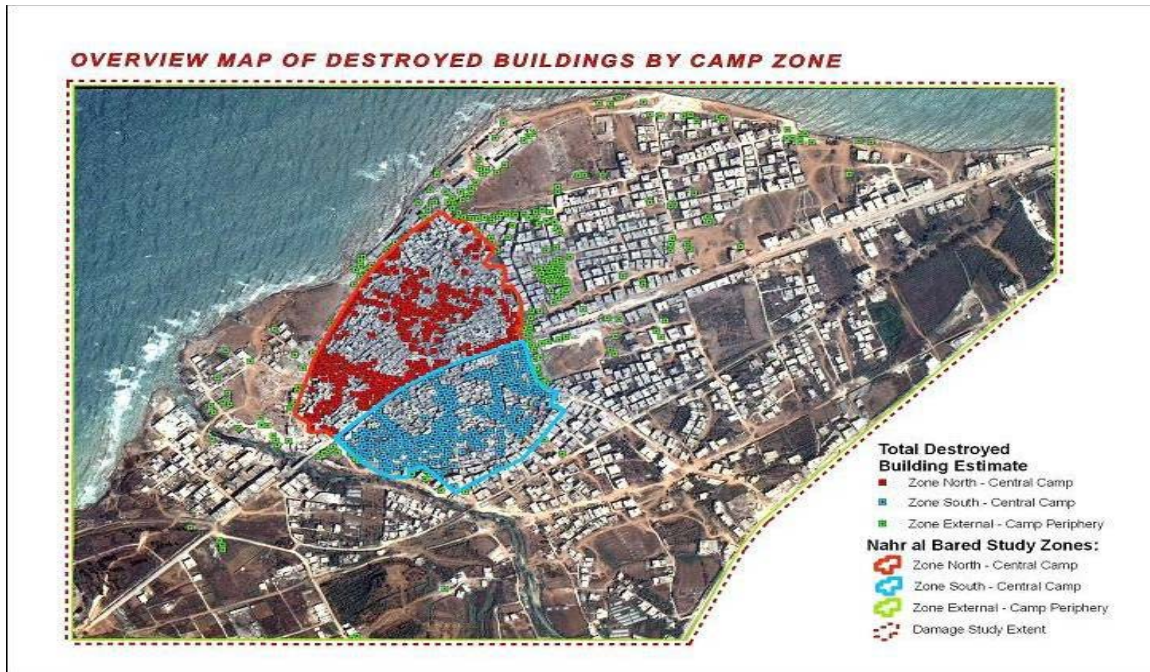


Figure 14. Map of Damaged or Destroyed Buildings by Camp Zone

Source: UNRWA, *Emergency Appeal for Northern Lebanon, 01 September-31 August 2008* (Beirut: UNRWA, 2007), 5, accessed 4 December 2016, <http://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/20100118145325.pdf>.

This analysis shows that, at the national level, the Palestinian economic situation in the camps worsened with no short term improvement. However, if the Lebanese government took some measures to improve the Palestinian refugees' economic conditions, then the FAI's recruitments and influence on the Palestinian populace would have been less effective; Palestinians would have been less affected by FAI persuasions. The LAF took a significant role in reducing FAI's ability to survive longer inside NBC by applying naval and land siege and severe economic restrictions to forbid the FAI militants from having economic freedom and obliged the FAI militants to negotiate with the LAF. The international financial support and assistance received during the NBC

battle helped the LAF to overcome its shortages and played a basic role in bridging the gap between LAF needs and available means.

Summary

The situation in the NBC battle, as seen through the instruments of national power, illustrates the LAF's ability to maintain and defend the Lebanese sovereignty and presents a deterrent example to other Palestinian camps in Lebanon. The DIME concept is not part of the LAF's doctrine. However, based on this study, its application could improve the LAF's defense of the national sovereignty in Palestinian camps. The reviewed case from the NBC battle demonstrates how the LAF managed to engage Palestinian camps. The DIME measures used by the LAF in the NBC battle needs better implementation and refined arrangements to be able to deal with the situation. The diplomatic actions demonstrate that the LAF reinforced its position before the FAI's terrorist organization, Palestinian presence in camps in general, and NBC in particular. The LAF was able to overcome the difficult Lebanese situation due to the weakness of long-standing Lebanese-Palestinian agreements and the devised posture among the various Palestinian factions. The LAF managed the informational activities through an understanding of the NBC's informational aspect and by counterbalancing the disruptive propaganda that the FAI disseminated throughout the Palestinian refugees during the battle. The military capabilities identify the requirement for the LAF to update and acquire adequate military equipment for the defense of the Lebanese sovereignty, especially from the rising threat of terrorism. The economic measures used by the LAF restricted FAI's ability to survive longer inside NBC by applying severe restrictions and limited the terrorist militants from having economic freedom inside the camp.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

After analyzing the information gathered during this study, this chapter will provide findings, conclusions, and recommendations for future research. The evaluation criteria applied to the conclusions followed in this chapter begins by answering the secondary research questions regarding the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic measures that the LAF has taken to reinforce its position before the FAI terrorist organization in NBC. These answers are crucial in assessing the use of instruments of national power and recommendations for future studies regarding LAF's engagement of other Palestinian camps in the future.

Findings

Diplomatic Measures

Based on LAF engagement in NBC and the benefits of the use of the diplomatic instrument of national power, the researcher concludes that it would be necessary for the LAF to capitalize on the diplomatic efforts to counter FAI terrorist actions. The research emphasized that FAI aggressively pursued diplomatic overtures to gain Palestinian and Islamic sympathy and aid for their cause. The LAF chose to pursue support from inside and outside sources and began to make its most significant successes in its war against FAI when it won the political support from Palestinian factions, interior policy parties, and international community.

The diplomatic element of national power provides a broad global perspective of the LAF engagement. The LAF used diplomatic measures to deal with FAI's aggressive posture in NBC, which enabled it to gain the Lebanese government's support for the engagement of the camp. The LAF command took the initiative in engaging FAI in NBC when it felt that the threat could undermine the LAF unity or the Lebanese stability. The LAF served as the principal lead in NBC negotiations, whether in a formal or informal setting and was able to influence decisions and solve the crisis. The LAF has some sectarian underpinnings, but sectarian or confessional issues did not drive the LAF organization for the operation. The LAF preserved its neutral positioning toward NBC, which kept its actions as a reflection of Lebanese public opinion and allowed the successful handling of the crisis. The LAF was able to overcome the weakness of the long-standing Lebanese-Palestinian agreements and the devised posture among the various Palestinian factions.

By applying the diplomatic instrument of national power effectively, the LAF maintained its cohesion and emerged as an indispensable entity. Also, senior Lebanese officials from different political parties recognized the value of a robust LAF to defend the country, prevent terrorist attacks, and protect the population from internal divisions. Likewise, Arab and Western supporters of Lebanon acknowledged that Lebanon genuinely needed political stability and the LAF was the only indigenous institution capable of accomplishing essential nation-building tasks. The diplomatic measures used by the LAF also encouraged several countries to pledge and assist in its NBC engagement.

Informational Measures

The NBC battle worked in building broad-based Lebanese popular support. One of the key steps in gaining this was the LAF's active engagement in an information campaign. This campaign capitalized the effective messaging to educate the Lebanese population on the nature and righteousness of the LAF's cause and to gain a voice in and support from the media. The LAF recognized the importance of a successful information campaign was committed to such a campaign and implemented an aggressive effort to discredit the FAI terrorist organization.

The analysis of the informational situation in the engagement showed that LAF reinforced its information activities to influence the Lebanese population as a whole and the Palestinians in NBC in particular. LAF used its Directorate for Information Operations' media assets, the Armed Forces' voice to the soldiers as well as communication to military personnel and public outreach to the Lebanese population, represented by the Lebanese Army's magazine, to show the FAI terrorist threat and the importance of eliminating it. The LAF preserved its public image and gained unconditional support of the population. Its media outlets and official website employed the tools to communicate its ongoing operation, its policies, and responded to verbal attacks against it by both local and international actors. The LAF used its magazine as an effective means to publish articles, which kept soldiers' motivation high and encouraged their families to support the battle's harsh consequences. Also, the LAF disseminated information that gained the hearts and minds of Lebanese populace against FAI terrorist actions. It also started new programs directed at the Palestinian population in and outside NBC. The broadcast met Palestinian demands and expectations. Most of the Palestinian

refugees cooperated willingly with the LAF, thus helping to engage better with the residents of the camp, and reduced FAI terrorist attempts to gain sympathy and take control of the camp.

The LAF acted as more than just a military force; it represented the Lebanese population's unity, played a prominent role in Lebanese society, and allowed the Lebanese government to give priority to LAF unity above everything else. The LAF had an adequate understanding of the informational aspect in NBC and FAI terrorist activities inside this camp and sent explicit messages of support to the Palestinians refugees in the camp. The LAF was able to maintain a counterpoint to the biased and disruptive propaganda that the FAI terrorist organization tried to disseminate among the Palestinian refugees, which induced better circumstances for the military operations. LAF reinforced its information activities by emphasizing to Palestinians the theme that terrorism is destroying their camp.

Military Measures

The analysis of the military situation indicates that the LAF was capable, through the application of its military instrument of national power, of deterring FAI, a well-equipped unconventional terrorist organization in NBC, and defending the Lebanese sovereignty. It is clear that the LAF was experiencing budget constraints due to the challenges that the Lebanese government was facing. However, the LAF persuaded the government to put this battle as its national security priority and allocated sufficient units with the necessary equipment to defend the Lebanese nation in NBC against credible threats from the FAI terrorist attack.

The LAF was able to acquire considerable foreign and international military assistance received from Syria, U.S., France, United Arab Emirates, and other friendly countries to be able to operate and fight. Also, it was capable of innovating by transforming its old UH-1H helicopters into attack helicopters with 250 and 400 kg munitions used for aerial bombardment as close air support (CAS), which were effective against FAI's fortified positions, especially in the Old Camp. This fact gave the LAF a credible deterrence capability and was effectively able to defeat the FAI terrorist threat. The LAF Navy's participation in the operations was successful in closing the shore and tightening control of the camp. The Navy provided the necessary support for the land forces' battle and prevented militants' infiltration toward the Mediterranean Sea from the West. This solid grip prohibited FAI militants from having freedom of maneuver and minimized its logistical support.

FAI personnel were well trained and equipped, with specialists and professionals in UW and booby-trapping operations. The LAF, by its professionalism, competence, restraint, intelligence skill, and employment of the military instrument of national power was able to fight in an entirely new OE and finish FAI's existence. The LAF projected sufficient Lebanese military power on NBC, using its morale and esprit de corps throughout the battle. As a result, the NBC battle allowed the LAF to gain major combat experience in counter-insurgency and UW.

Economic Measures

The LAF took a significant role in reducing FAI's ability to survive longer inside NBC by applying the economic instrument of national power. The LAF implemented severe restrictions to prevent the terrorist militants from having economic freedom inside

the camp. On the other hand, the LAF was unable to purchase significantly higher quality arms, modern equipment, and munitions. In fact, the LAF lacked neither professionalism nor proficiency, and despite these serious shortcomings, the LAF still managed to become an increasingly capable and professional military and an efficient institution. The LAF received some equipment, though what was needed was close air support, night goggles, and intelligence gathering equipment. The foreign and international military assistance helped the LAF to allocate enough resources to fight, defend the country, and win against FAI in NBC.

The LAF economic grip on the entire NBC was a strong turning point in FAI ability to survive and was a major factor in FAI's several attempts to negotiate. The LAF land component and naval fleet siege on the four sides of the camp forbid FAI economic freedom and access to additional resources. The destruction of the tunnels that connected NBC to its neighboring villages terminated the FAI's last access for exfiltration of insurgents and bringing in weapons and ammunition to extend their ability to fight. The LAF succeeded in attacking FAI economic power during the NBC battle; even though it would have been more efficient if the LAF had attacked FAI root causes in the first place and arrest FAI monetary providers before the fight occurred.

The implementation of a broad-based economic policy designed to undermine the FAI sources could have decreased the life of the FAI insurgency. The LAF fully understood the critical importance of attacking the FAI financial situation, aggressively pursued economic reforms, and applied the economic instrument of national power to tackle this problem successfully. It was only through these efforts that the LAF began to gain the upper hand, which helped ensure that FAI capabilities to survive were restrained.

Conclusions

The FAI terrorism rise in the NBC was a consequence of the Lebanese Government's failed policies toward the Palestinian refugees. The NBC crisis acted as a wake-up call and a red flag for all factions, exposing the Palestinian refugees' exclusion in Lebanon. Fearing a similar fate, Palestinian leaders across the political spectrum in all refugee camps began cooperating on security matters in an unprecedented manner. By analyzing the LAF's use of the instruments of national power, this thesis sought to propose a better framework for analyzing the LAF's engagement by use of the instruments of national power (DIME) to engage Nahr Al-Bared Palestinian camp. Based on the analysis of the information gathered in the present study, the answer is that the integrated employment of these national power instruments provided effective strategy to help the LAF engage FAI in NBC. By the application and the integration of those diplomatic measures, informational activities, military capabilities, and economic actions addressed in this research, the LAF, in NBC in 2007, was able to act as the most important and critical arm of the Lebanese government in all DIME aspects. The fighting at NBC also refocused attention within the LAF on much-needed military capabilities to maintain its role as the primary defender of Lebanese sovereignty. The LAF needs to acquire systems that improve its ability to carry out combined operations across different branches of the military with an emphasis on fighting terrorism and carrying out counter-insurgency operations. Accordingly, the LAF requires close air support (CAS), communications systems, combat management systems, and training for UW.

Recommendations for Future Study

The LAF is increasingly called upon to implement national power on Palestinian camps, beyond just conventional military tools, to maintain stability. The efficient use of the instruments of national power will help LAF leaders to assess any future operation better. In doing so, the LAF professionals must remember that to win in UW; they must correctly apply all of the DIME instruments of national power.

Diplomatic Element of National Power

The LAF should continue employing diplomatic measures to deal with any aggressive Palestinian posture in the camps and keep on serving as the principal negotiator, whether in a formal or informal setting. The LAF must sustain its ability to use the diplomatic measures to advise when possible and oppose where necessary on matters affecting the Lebanese sovereignty. The LAF would greatly benefit from expressing its concerns, interests and needs to these international public policy institutions. The LAF should raise the cooperation with the ISF on security matters in all Palestinian camps to enforce Lebanese laws and present a civilian-friendly alternative to the LAF, reducing the camps' militarized character due to LAF checkpoints. In turn, this will promote better relations between the Lebanese and Palestinian communities. Building trust between the ISF and the Palestinian community would encourage camp residents to be supportive and forthcoming in reporting community problems and security issues. The LAF must retain its trusted status as a Lebanese institution to remain capable of handling internal conflicts successfully and preserve its non sectarian nature. The LAF should maintain its neutrality toward Palestinian camps, which will keep its actions as a

reflection of Lebanese public opinion and will allow better handling of any crisis that might occur in Palestinian camps.

Informational Element of National Power

The LAF should increase its informational activities to influence the refugees in Palestinian camps and counter terrorist activities. The LAF Directorate for Information Operations should have more programs directed toward the Palestinian population inside and outside the camps. These actions will allow the Palestinian refugees to willingly cooperate with the LAF and minimize terrorist attempts to take control of the camps. LAF media outlets and official website must continue performing as the LAF tool to communicate ongoing operations and policies and respond to verbal attacks from both local and international actors. The Lebanese Army's magazine is critical to publishing articles that keep soldiers' motivation high and encourage soldiers' families to support future hard combat consequences. The LAF should continue disseminating information that influences the hearts and minds of the Lebanese populace against Palestinian terrorist actions. The LAF has a duty to preserve its public image and the unconditional support of the population. In pursuing this effort, the LAF has to work on the civil-military relations. The LAF should allow the ISF to operate in the camp and impose law and order. The LAF must represent the Lebanese Government and the Lebanese population, playing its vital role in the Lebanese society.

Military Element of National Power

The LAF should seek government approval for increasing the LAF's capabilities to project adequate military power over all Palestinian camps and reinforce its presence

on the entrances and inside Palestinian camps. Units should deploy with sufficient equipment to defeat any terrorist attack. Advanced weapons supplied by Lebanese allies, especially the U.S. and major Western European countries, are needed. The LAF needs to develop a security reform plan to better protect Lebanon and address future terrorist threats. The LAF must create a security reform plan that includes a comprehensive reform process for all safety and information agencies, with an emphasis on integration, cooperation, and unity of command and effort. The LAF should increase some stockpiles of heavy ammunition and essential equipment needed to sustain units in UW fighting against terrorist groups. The LAF also needs to revise the training on both the operational and tactical levels, necessary for soldiers to fight this kind of battle, based on the lessons learned from the NBC experience. The LAF should establish a special battalion to carry out complex tasks that require superior combat skills, particularly in UW and counter-terrorism operations. LAF must purchase aircraft for close air support in combined arms operations.

Economic Element of National Power

The LAF should work in close cooperation with the government to obtain necessary financial resources to meet the needs of the Palestinian population and their ability to access primary necessities. These measures would encourage the Palestinian refugees to have better resistance against terrorist organization attempts to recruit and influence the populace in Palestinian camps. In turn, Palestinians would be motivated to be at least supportive of and be induced to cooperate with the Lebanese government and the LAF. The LAF should increase the cooperation with the ISF on security matters in all Palestinian camps. The presence of the ISF reinforces Lebanese laws, presents a civilian-

friendly alternative to the LAF, and allows economic growth inside the camp. In turn, this will favor social and economic relations between the Lebanese and Palestinian communities. Building trust between the ISF and the Palestinian community would encourage camp residents to invest in the camp and rebuild their businesses. Also, the security checkpoints on the entrances of the Palestinian camps must be customized to focus on military issues like smuggling weapons and ammunition inside the camp, but have to be controlled to allow economic exchange between the camps and the neighboring villages.

Summary

This chapter provides the findings for each instrument of national power used by the LAF in NBC and recommendations for future studies regarding LAF's engagement of other Palestinian camps in the future. The findings show that the LAF used all the instruments of national power for the maintenance and defense of Lebanese sovereignty in NBC. The LAF needs better practices and refined arrangements in using DIME measures to allow dealing with future situations. The recommendations for future studies show the need to develop a different, more inclusive camp management model in assistance with ISF, the Palestinian factions, UNRWA, and the international community. A new defense strategy needs to be developed to better protect the country from internal threats. Further application in other Palestinian camps is required to validate the emphasis that this thesis places on applying all instruments of national power. Another requirement is further testing of the complicated and complex political situation that governs the LAF's relationship with the Lebanese Government, the Palestinian factions, and the Palestinian camps. Today, the situation in Lebanon is more critical. The effects of Syria's

raging internal conflicts are adversely impacting inter-sectarian relations in Lebanon, increasing the risk that Lebanon and the LAF may once again plunge into another Palestinian camp battle or dive into civil war.

ILLUSTRATIONS

| Reset Form | | Written Document Analysis Worksheet | | Print Form | |
|------------|--|--|--|------------|--|
| 1. | TYPE OF DOCUMENT (Check one): <div> <input type="radio"/> Newspaper <input type="radio"/> Map <input type="radio"/> Advertisement </div> <div> <input type="radio"/> Letter <input type="radio"/> Telegram <input type="radio"/> Congressional Record </div> <div> <input type="radio"/> Patent <input type="radio"/> Press Release <input type="radio"/> Census Report </div> <div> <input type="radio"/> Memorandum <input type="radio"/> Report <input type="radio"/> Other </div> | | | | |
| 2. | UNIQUE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DOCUMENT (Check one or more): <div> <input type="checkbox"/> Interesting Letterhead <input type="checkbox"/> Notations </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> Handwritten <input type="checkbox"/> "RECEIVED" stamp </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> Typed <input type="checkbox"/> Other </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> Seals </div> | | | | |
| 3. | DATE(S) OF DOCUMENT: | | | | |
| 4. | AUTHOR (OR CREATOR) OF THE DOCUMENT: POSITION (TITLE): | | | | |
| 5. | FOR WHAT AUDIENCE WAS THE DOCUMENT WRITTEN? | | | | |
| 6. | DOCUMENT INFORMATION (There are many possible ways to answer A-E.) Limit response for each question to 3 lines of text A. List three things the author said that you think are important: B. Why do you think this document was written? C. What evidence in the document helps you know why it was written? Quote from the document. D. List two things the document tells you about life in the United States at the time it was written. E. Write a question to the author that is left unanswered by the document: | | | | |
| Reset Form | | Designed and developed by the Education Staff, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408 | | Print Form | |

Illustration 1. Written Document Analysis Worksheet

Source: National Archives and Records Administration, *Written Document Analysis Worksheet* (Washington, DC: The Education Staff, 2016), accessed 13 January 2017, https://www.archives.gov/files/education/lessons/worksheets/written_document_analysis_worksheet.pdf.



Illustration 2. The 250 and 400 kg Munitions Used for Aerial Bombardment

Source: Directorate for Information Operations, *Order Executed, Air Force Invented, Bombed, Triumphed*. (Beirut: The Lebanese Army's Magazine, The Lebanese Armed Forces, 2007), accessed 11 January 2017, <https://www.lebarmy.gov.lb/ar/content/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%AA%D9%83%D8%B1%D8%AA%D8%8C-%D9%82%D8%B5%D9%81%D8%AA%D8%8C-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%B1%D8%AA>.



Illustration 3. FAI Training in NBC

Source: Al-Arabiya News, Lebanese Forces Shoot Dead Fatah Al-Islam Leader (Dubai: Beirut Agencies, 2010), accessed 14 January 2017, <https://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2010/08/14/116638.html>.

APPENDIX A

TABLES

| Table 1. Lebanon Refugees Camp Profiles | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| CAMP | NUMBER OF REGISTERED REFUGEES |
| Ein el-Hilweh | 45,337 |
| Nahr el-Bared | 31,023 |
| Rashidieh | 25,580 |
| Burj el-Barajneh | 20,405 |
| Burj el-Shemali | 18,659 |
| Beddawi | 16,198 |
| Shatila | 12,235 |
| El-Buss | 10,107 |
| Wavel | 7,553 |
| Mieh Mieh | 5,037 |
| Dbayeh | 4,211 |
| Mar Elias | 1,411 |
| Tal Al-Zaatar, Jisser Al-Basha, and Al-Nabatieh (destroyed camps) | 16,108 |
| + 10,092 refugees distributed throughout the camps | |

Source: Sherifa Shafie, *Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon* (Beirut: Forcedmigration, 2006), 4, accessed 29 November 2016, <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/palestinian-refugees-in-lebanon/fmo018.pdf>.

| Table 2. AF Fatalities at NBC Battle in 2007 by Combat Units | | | | |
|--|----------|------|----------|-------|
| | Officers | NCOs | Soldiers | Total |
| 3rd Infantry Brigade | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| 5th Infantry Brigade | 6 | 17 | 30 | 53 |
| 7th Infantry Brigade | - | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| 8th Infantry Brigade | - | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| 12th Infantry Brigade | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| Ranger Regiment | 3 | 11 | 9 | 23 |
| Navy Seals Regiment | 2 | 14 | 9 | 25 |
| Air assault Regiment | 1 | 12 | 26 | 39 |
| 3rd Intervention Regiment | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| 1st Artillery Regiment | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| 2nd Tank Regiment | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Support Brigade – Engineer Regiment | 1 | 2 | - | 3 |
| Other | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Total | 14 | 68 | 87 | 169 |

Source: Aram Nerguizian, *the Lebanese Armed Forces, Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon* (Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2009), 66, accessed 15 October 2016, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf.

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